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HISTORICAL & LITERARY
CONNECTED WITH THE PALACE OF
LANCASTER AND CHESTER.

PREPARED BY
THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.

VOL. XLIV.

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PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY
MANCHESTER.

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EDITED BY

THE CHESTER SOCIETY

VOL. XLV

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CONNECTION WITH THE PALATINE COUNTIES OF

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LITERARY REMAINS

OF

JOHN BYROM.

EDITED BY

RICHARD PARKINSON, D.D. F.S.A.,

PRINCIPAL OF SAINT BEES COLLEGE, AND
CANON OF MANCHESTER.

VOL. II. — PART II.

PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.
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PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE,
UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

VOL. II.—PART II.

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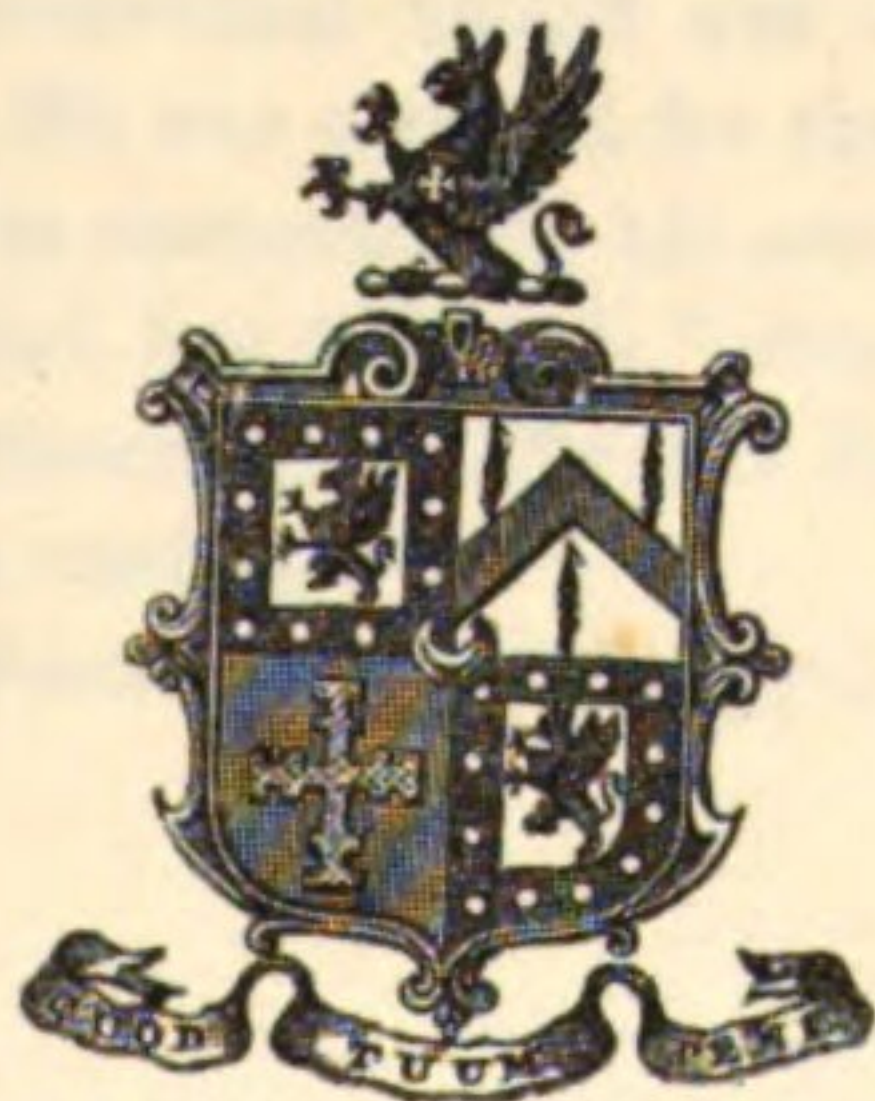
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CORRIGENDA.

Page 373, Note 3. *For* Coby, *read* Coley.

Page 404, Note 1. A more exact investigation of authorities leads to the inversion of the order of these two Thomas Butterworths, and places as first Thomas Butterworth who married Frances Dukinfield, sister in whole blood of Robert Dukinfield, named *page* 406, *Note* 2; and makes Thomas and Frances Butterworth the *parents* of Thomas Butterworth who married Mary Crowther at Stockport, August 5th, 1707, and who was father of the three coheiresses. Dr. Ormerod obligingly states that this agrees with the MS. Pedigree of Bayley of Hope, at Sedbury Park; with the tenor of the Mosley "Memoirs"; and, in its Dukinfield bearings, with that Pedigree; and also with Mr. Aspland's later notes; (Hist. of Old Nonconformity in Dukinfield, 8vo. 1845;) as well as with the dates in Holland Watson's MSS.

Page 409, Note 1. There is a Pedigree of the Halls of Hermitage and Cranage (of which family Dr. Richard Edward Hall was a younger brother) in Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. iii. p. 74; and a Memoir of Mr. Richard Hall, who ob. s.p. in 1801, in the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. lxxi. p. 673. Dr. Richard Edward Hall married Grace, daughter of the Rev. John Wall, Vicar of Rostherne (1672-1726), and died in 1793, æt. 90. Robert Feilden was the uncle of Miss Frances Hall, having married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. John Wall, Vicar of Rostherne, by his wife Joanna, daughter of Mr. John Alexander of Manchester, a wealthy mercer, whose wife was the elder daughter of the Rev. Robert Symonds, M.A., the learned and loyal Rector of Middleton in the county of Lancaster. — *Lanc. MSS.*, vol. iv. p. 95. — Walker's *Suff. of the Clergy*, part i., p. 40, fol. 1714.

Page 422, Note 1. The individual named was James, fifteenth Earl of Morton, K.T., born in 1703. He was confined for three months in the Bastile in 1746, and dying in 1768 was succeeded by his son.

Page 426, Note. In verse 2nd, line 2nd, *dele* "abused."

Page 433, Note 2. *For* fourteenth *read* fifteenth Earl.

Page 442, Note 1. *For* cast *read* east.

Page 551, Note 1. *For* Calvinistic *read* Calvinistic.

REMAINS OF JOHN BYROM.

VOL. II. PART II.

[Shorthand Journal.]

Monday, July 5th [1742]: at home till evening, Mr. Antrobus and Bird with me; W. Chad. called; we went to Rawthmel's, where I went in, and he went on to see his folks. I came away with Mr. Folkes and Birch, and parting with them in Holborn I spoke to Mr. Folkes, and told him that I wanted to wait upon him to pay him the ten guineas for the Royal Society; and he said that I must think no more of it, that he never intended it, &c., that as for calling on him he should be glad to see me, but for that, &c. I went down to the Temple Exchange, Mr. Lindsey, whom I wanted to see, not there, nor Mr. Freke; three or four gentlemen came to me and talked about shorthand; one of them asked me first where I was to be found, that he had tried at Weston's, and could not do with it; I told him that I should be going out of town, and he said that he could not begin till Thursday, appointed that day, one o'clock; they asked me what Weston meant, and I told them that I thought not fit to take any notice of him, that he had done service by making a noise and raising attention to shorthand, that my best scholars were such as had learned his.

Tuesday, 6th: called on Mr. Joddrel, enquired about Mrs. Rooke, was told that she lived in Bartlet Street; went down to the Court of Requests, saw Mr. Wright, who asked me to dine with him, but I excused myself; went to Lord Morton's, had coffee there; thence to Rawthmel's, whence Mr. Folkes took me in his chariot to the

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club, where were only he and Mr. Hamilton and Pratt; Mr. Hamilton and I [had] much talk about principles, agreed in the principles but not the application.

Wednesday, 7th: rose at ten; Mr. Joddrel had called, and came again about eleven; after him Mr. Taylor, who began to learn yesterday.

To Mr. Jacobi, and went with him to Fetter Lane, where Mr. Delamot reading the story of the Eunuch and St. Philip, and then preached; Mr. Hutton came in after us, and sat down by me and squeezed me every now and then; Mr. Jacobi came back with me to Ab's, drank a dish of coffee before and after, said he was going to Bath for his health. I went to Will's, the coffeehouse quite empty, which I had never seen; thence to Richard's, Mr. Chad. there; he and I and Mr. Weller and Lloyd went to the Mitre; Mr. Weller said that he had forgot that he had promised Mr. Lloyd, and had just promised Mr. Gibson (of Leeds) to go with him, but he went with us, and we met Mr. Talbot there, had gooseberry pie and cold lamb to supper (21d. reckoning); Mr. Talbot and I talked about the Creation, Mr. Law, whether the world as it is the work of God and Adam a man like us which was his notion; and I talked away upon Mr. Law's principles, and Mr. Lloyd said he liked all but my natural philosophy, that fire was life or spirit.⁽¹⁾ Mr. Sandys in the coffeehouse when I came home, and has just been reading part of my letter to Mr. Cust, &c.

Thursday, [8th]: Mr. Wright called here before I was up; I promised to call on him, but not being very well could not, and stayed at home till near seven. Mr. Antrobus and young Mr. Robert Bird, who began and paid the other day, were with me; went to the Royal Society, but they were gone, and had broke up for the summer; to Richard's, Mr. Freke there, went with him to Temple Exchange coffeehouse to see Mr. Lindsey, he gone out, and we went to walk on the flags; Mr. Watson, apothecary, came by, I went with him to Tom's and to Somerset Gardens to see Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Dixon, Graham there, but Mr. Lloyd gone to the park; I came

⁽¹⁾ See Berkeley's *Siris*, sect. 152-230 (*Works*, vol. ii. pp. 354-377, edit. Wright).

back, found Dr. Collier at the Temple Exchange and went with him to the Mitre, where Mr. Freke, and Broughton, whom Mr. F. and I had seen in the Temple, came to us; we supped there, I had cold lamb, 9d.; they talked about the book, Christianity not founded on argument, and Mr. Broughton would hear no more of it; they said Mr. Sydenham was whimsical, unsettled.

Friday, [9th]: at home all day; had a letter from Mrs. Byrom at Kersall, and that Dr. Leigh was out in his shorthand sermon. Mr. Lloyd called here before dinner, Mr. Antrobus, Bird, Cust with me, who said Mr. Lyster would come to-morrow.

Friday, 16th: sent books away to W. Chad's, had a note from him to desire my company this evening, and had writ to him that I would come. Mr. Bird here, read the Nadir Shah book and writ nothing.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Thursday night, August 19th, 1742.

My dearest love: I received thine last post but one, with the account of Sir Darcy Lever's death,⁽¹⁾ for whose loss I am much concerned upon many accounts; I was afraid that it would be so from the first news of his being seized. I promised myself the usual pleasure of seeing him at Alkrington, and it appears very sudden, and I dare say by myself that he will be much missed and lamented, for he had many qualities that particularly endeared him to his acquaintance; when I had expectation rather of hearing from him, for he had received a letter from me, it was a great surprise to me his being attacked with his illness. I am glad, however, that he had such a sensibility restored as to be able to finish his will, &c. He was a very friendly acquaintance, and now he is gone I find that I had a great affection for him. I recall to mind our journey to London,

(1) "August 18, 1742, died Sir Darcy Lever, distinguished for his learning and humanity." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xii. p. 444. See vol. i. part i. of this work, p. 50, *Note* 4, where a date is corrected by this letter, and Mr. Urban's date, given above, is corrected by the register at Prestwich, which records the burial of Sir Darcy Lever Knt. on "the 15th August 1742." See Booker's *Prestwich*, p. 207.

&c., and had got some curiosities here that I bought chiefly with a design to divert him. I don't think any newspaper will or can give him a bad word; what they will say of him I know not, nor is it material if he be happy, as, God rest his soul, I hope he is.

I did not write last post, for I have not been very well myself, and I had a mind to say I was better; I had yesterday a little spitting of blood, as I have sometimes at home, but it is gone to-day, and I do not expect its return; I was obliged by the rain to stay at Westminster, and to dine and sup with my scholar there, and come home in a coldish night — that might perhaps be the occasion. My service to coz. Hannah Crompton, I'll write a line to thank her for hers shortly, here I have not room, but to conclude with my dear love to thee and my dear children. J. B.

Dr. Cheyne to John Byrom.

Sir: I had acknowledged the civility of your slow letter sooner, but for just such a reason as had made yours so late. I had written in much the same strain with mine to you, to one I think the most solid judge in these sublime and abstracted matters known to me, whose first answer I found grounded on a mistake of the character and writings of Mr. Marsay, author of the *Témoignage d'Enfant*, &c.; I therefore sent him all the history of the person, adventures, and methods of proficiency I had learned of this wonderful author, with the number of his books, which I suspected by his first answer he had not thoroughly known. But Mr. Law, being a man who never judges nor gives characters rashly without entering deeply into the spirit of his author, in more than two months has never given me an answer to this my second letter, and I hope by his delay he is reading and pondering Mr. Marsay's *Témoignage*, which, consisting of eight or ten octavo volumes, must require time under his hands. I have waited hitherto for this answer, whereon to form a small judgment of the author and his works, which has made this of mine to you so late; but I was unwilling to delay it longer, lest what was designed as respect should be construed neglect. I own Mr. Marsay and his writings appear to my heart in such an amiable light that it

would be the greatest mortification to me to give up a line, a thought, or even a whim (if any such there be) of his. For as to his essentials, his directions, and his explications of the Holy Scripture, I have not the least demur, well knowing them to be entirely the same with those of *Taulerus*, *Johannes à Cruce*, *Bernier*, *Bertôt* and *M. Guyon*, and all the most approved ancient and modern interior Christians called mystics. But I think him infinitely more plain, simple, universal, luminous, and unctuous,⁽¹⁾ than any I ever met with. It is his specialties, his new scriptural manifestations and discoveries about the states and glory of the invisible world and the future purification of lapsed intelligences, human and angelical, and such accessories, that my difficulties rest on. Not that [it] is a farthing matter whether they be precise speculative truth or not, "*What is that to thee? Follow thou me,*" but that to me they seem infinitely glorious and worthy of infinite purity and perfection, and all founded, as he suggests, in Holy Writ. But what I am concerned for is, that if they be given up — since, as to him, they are derived from the same source with his essentials, and impressed on him without his seeking, in which his faculties had neither power nor part, and in communicating which he was a mere passive organ to the Divine Spirit for the comfort and support of his brethren in their progress towards regeneration — I say if they be given up, it may weaken his testimony in the infallible essentials, which I should think a great pity; for if they (these accessories) are not the precise truth of these inexplicable things, as St. Paul calls them, yet I cannot think but an honest, sincere heart would wish they were true, at least verisimilar. But I am determined, by His grace, to adhere only to Him who is our *sole Master and Father*, and is *the Way, the Truth, and the Life*. And if a person whom I admire so much as I do Mr. Law rejects these accessories (though we are promised in the latter days more and fuller lights, and that the Holy Spirit promised shall *lead us into all truth*), I will so far give them up as not to propagate them with that blind zeal I might do otherwise. If you have an impulse to examine them, besides your acquaintance in the country you men-

(1) It thus appears that this term is by no means a modern one.

tion, if you will call on Mrs. Middleton (my sister-in-law) at the Three Crowns in the Strand, or my daughter Mrs. Stewart (to be heard of there), or Dr. Heylin, minister of the new church in the Strand, any of these, if called upon in my name, will let you have each volume separately till you have gone through them all, and will, I can assure you, be glad to oblige you in that or anything else in their power. Lord Huntington has them from me, and I am getting your good friends and mine, Dr. Hartley and his lady, to read them, and though I cannot promise they will swallow them so eagerly as I have, yet I believe their honest and sincere hearts will relish them in the main, at least the essentials; and if you give them a serious and attentive reading I believe you will not misspend your time; I firmly believe they will not make you a worse or a weaker man. May you *grow in grace and every good word and work*. I am most sincerely, Sir, your faithful, humble servant,

Bath, Aug. 22, 1742.

GEO. CHEYNE.⁽¹⁾

[In shorthand on the back of the above.]

The Dr. gave me this yesterday to direct to you; if you are in town still, let me have a line or two before you leave it, that I may know where to direct to you. What if you was to come by Bath, we should be heartily glad to see you if it suits your convenience. I pray God direct and bless us all, that we [may] know and speak and act the truth as it is in Jesus. — D.[AVID] H[ARTLEY].

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

[Extract.]

August 31st, 1742.

I have been at the other end of the Strand to enquire of a lady about a book that her brother-in-law, Dr. Cheyne at Bath, is very fond of, from whom I have just received a letter, but could not find her at home.

I won a pint of wine of Mr. Pickering; he would lay that Prague was taken before he went, but we hear not of it in the Gazette yet,

⁽¹⁾ This is an interesting letter as a picture of Dr. Cheyne's mind.

for I called in at the coffeehouse where Dr. Pellet and company meet by Mr. Lloyd's lodgings; he is gone, I suppose, to the Guild,⁽¹⁾ which makes a noise even here.

1743.

Mr. Hildesley⁽²⁾ to John Byrom.

Hitchin, February 4th, 1743.

Dear Sir: Knowing you to be a man of a benevolent disposition, always ready and glad to exert your talents for the service of mankind, of which you have given singular proof by your proposing to discover the best improved method that has ever yet been invented in the science of *writing*, I must beg leave to remind you of an undertaking, if possible, still more extensive in its use and advantage, and which, if I mistake not, I once heard you hint at your having in view, viz. the putting together some materials for making the art of *reading* more easy and complete than what the many performances already published for that purpose have rendered it. Your judgment, I dare say, will not allow you to call or think any thing *little* that can be truly beneficial to the human species; and I am much inclined to hope and believe that you are sensible an undertaking of this sort is as *great* and *significant* as 'tis wanting and desirable. An accurate and well contrived *spelling book* adapted to the capacities of young beginners, how trifling and easy a work soever it may be generally thought, will,

⁽¹⁾ At Preston, held there in this year.

⁽²⁾ Mark Hildesley, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, born in 1698 at Murston near Sittingbourne in Kent, of which place his father was then Rector. He was appointed by the Duke of Athol to succeed the venerable Bishop Wilson in the See of Sodor and Man in 1755, being created D.D. in that year by Archbishop Herring. He was afterwards, owing to the poverty of his Bishopric, presented to the Mastership of Sherburn Hospital, and had a stall at Lincoln given him. He was a very exemplary and pious Prelate, and wisely made it a rule to follow as closely as possible in the steps of his predecessor. His great work was the arduous task of getting the Holy Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer translated into the Manx language for the use of the native inhabitants. Having just lived to accomplish this first wish of his heart, he died suddenly in 1772. Memoirs of his Life were published by the Rev. Weeden Butler in 1799. Bishop Hildesley has occurred before, vol. i. part i. p. 221.

in my opinion, demand a degree of skill and abilities which few are possessed of but those who (like Mr. Byrom) are thorough masters of language in general and of the English language in particular. I have had the perusal, I think, of most that have been current of late years, such as *Dyche*, *Dyke*, *Weald*, *Watts*, and *Palairett*, from the *last* of which I expected something *extraordinary*, being compiled for the use of the *royal branches* at *Leicester House*; but I found it, like the rest, defective in point of rules for *sounding* the vowels, choice of *examples*, directions for *accent*, &c. I am not insensible that 'tis much easier to blame and find fault than to correct; but I verily believe there's not a person in the kingdom so qualified to supply those defects as *yourself*. I own 'tis a task or exercise of your parts which I should scarce have thought of recommending to you, but from the encouragement I had by the conversation that passed between us the last time I had the pleasure of being in your company. If I misapprehended your meaning, I shall be sorry for the freedom of this application; and how far my acquaintance with you will strictly warrant it, I can't pretend to say. But I know you have a *great* and *good soul*, that's not apt to be *captious*, and therefore I cannot but hope for and should be very proud of the favour of your free and explicit sentiments upon the matter, as well as likewise of being assured from under your hand that I do not assume too much in desiring to be retained among the number of your friends, and of being allowed the pleasure of subscribing myself, dear Sir, your affectionate and obliged humble servant,

To Mr. Byrom, at Manchester.

M. HILDESLEY.⁽¹⁾

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Cambridge, March 15th, Tuesday noon.

My dear love: I am sitting down by Mr. Leigh's fireside for an opportunity, the first that has offered, of writing to thee, in the first place to thank thee for thy letter, which I received yesterday to my

⁽¹⁾ Few letters could be more gratifying to the feelings of Byrom than this well expressed one from one of the good Bishops of Sodor and Man.

great satisfaction. I presume that Mr. Hoole and Mrs. Leigh would inform thee how we got to Derby, and Mr. Leigh writing from Leicester, I desired him to let them tell thee that I was very well, one letter being sufficient.

At Derby Mr. Leigh was so much inclined to stay all day there, that it was, I believe, concluded on when Mrs. Leigh went back to Ashton,⁽¹⁾ and though we talked of going to Loughborough that night after she was gone, yet being invited to dinner at Dr. Harding's,⁽²⁾ time passed by and soon settled that point for us. I sent my service to desire the doctor's company over-night. He came to us, and stayed till we went to supper, but then he left us, being engaged with company at his house; after which, Mr. William brought word that his master's grey horse was lame, upon which it was thought fit to hire another and leave grey behind, and Mr. L. to ride his Orson, that he had thought never to have mounted more. The morning passed in hiring a Derby beast, bleeding the grey, &c. Dr. Harding sent his man to desire our company to breakfast, I sent

(1) Ashbourne?

(2) Caleb Hardinge, younger son of the Rev. Gideon Hardinge, and grandson of Sir Robert Hardinge of King's Newton in the parish of Melbourne in Derbyshire, was Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, B.A. 1720, M.A. 1724, M.D. Com. Reg. 1728, adm. 1756. He was brother of Nicholas Hardinge M.P. who married Miss Pratt sister of Byrom's distinguished short-hand pupil, Pratt, afterwards Earl Camden. Nicholas was an accomplished Latin scholar, joint Secretary of the Treasury, and grandfather of the present Viscount Hardinge. Dr. Caleb Hardinge was Physician Extraordinary to the King and Physician to the Tower, and died at Mansfield in the county of Nottingham in 1776. He was an admirable scholar, and his conversation was coveted by the most accomplished wits of his age. He once intended to appear as an author, got a subscription, but never published, which led to his being satirized with his tutor Thirlby and others in an anonymous poem called "The Session of Criticks," without date:—

"—— Since Caleb to publish was not very forward,
Let him drink his subscriptions with Rustat and Norwood;
From his garret, where long he had rusted, came down
Toby Thirlby, cock-sure that the prize was his own,
Crying, 'Z—ds! where's this Bentley? I'll give him no quarter!'
And haul'd out his preface to his fam'd Justin Martyr.
His disciples came next: Caleb, scar'd at the sight
As he thought of Tom Tristram, ran away in a fright."

word that we were just a-going, for so I thought, or else I would have waited on him, and I had taken leave over night on that supposition; he sent the man again to desire me to step down while we were preparing, I did so, and found him and his lady and two gentlemen at breakfast; the Dr. sent to invite them all to dinner, for I had told them of Mr. Leigh's horse's misfortune, word came back Mr. Hoole and Mrs. L. were going to Ashbourne, but that Mr. L. would wait upon him, so I said I would go and take leave of them and return with my fellow traveller; and so we came to dinner and stayed supper also with him and Mrs. H.; two ladies came to drink tea in the afternoon, their names Dixy both I believe; we were very freely entertained, and passed the time very agreeably; Mr. L. was mightily taken with Mrs. H's. conversation,⁽¹⁾ who being an acquaintance of Lady Huntington's, we had much talk about her and J. Wesley, whose Journal they had got, which I had never seen; alas! that good lady has had an accident by a fall down some stairs, and Dr. Hartley writes in a letter received while we were there to Dr. Harding, that Dr. Cheyne had sent her from Bath to Bristol for an hectic, a word often used when the patient is but in a bad way; if she get well, and Mr. Wesley should come to her house hereabouts at Dunnington, I have promised, upon notice, to give Dr. Harding and his lady the meeting there.

We dined at Loughborough the next day; at our coming to Leicester I sent to Dr. Holbrook,⁽²⁾ and had answer that he was not at home; he came to us at breakfast in the morning, and we both went to his house where we drank a dish of coffee; we took leave with him at our inn about ten, and went to Harborough, where Mr. L. was so loth to move further upon Orson that another horse was

(1) Mr. George Hardinge has stated that his uncle Dr. Hardinge was a comic tyrant over all his friends, and he relates an amusing anecdote of the Doctor's quarrel with Akenside the poet, so that "Mrs. Hardinge, as clever in a different way as either of them, could with difficulty keep the peace between them." — *Liter. Anecd.* vol. viii. p. 523.

(2) Probably a son of Dr. Holbrook of Manchester, descended maternally from the Warden Heyrick, and in 1727 not enjoying a high professional reputation. See vol. i. part. i. p. 267.

talked of and a guide to ride Orson, but expecting then bad roads instead of the good hitherto, I persuaded him not to leave the best horse for deep roads, and to go soon and not stay for a guide, which would only delay us, and the road would do, there being no rain, and so we went on and found the cross field ways in very good condition, and reached within two miles of Thrapston while it was light enough, and from a village there had the luck of a guide without seeking, for a man was going afoot from that place to Thrapston who travelled fast enough for our purpose, and we got very well to the White Hart.

Next morning Mr. L. after pondering the matter, concluded that Huntingdon was enough for a sabbath day's journey, which being allowed, I rested in bed that morning, and he like a good lad went to church, having had a good night. At dinner there came in a traveller from Cambridge that morning with a flannel boot upon one of his legs that was begouted, and going to Harborough that night; this man made us quite shawm't,⁽¹⁾ as it were; he sat down, and seeing me, fell a-smiling, and Mr. L. wondered thereat, when turning to look at him more earnestly, who should it be but an attorney that lodged at Abington's while I was last at London, whose partner was my shorthand disciple Mr. Antrobus, that I called on when I came down at Eccleshall in Staffordshire, so we greeted accordingly, and so advanced to Huntingdon, Mr. L. recovering his noble spirits amain, insomuch that he would have leaped over into the fields to avoid a long wash if I had not cried out painfully against a valour that might possibly overthrow all our past successes; in short, we got to Huntingdon in good time enough to see poor Sir Darcy Lever's discovery in the window of our inn — "N.B. No mustard in Huntingdon" — and to discover ourselves that better times did now afford some. Mr. Colclough, my friend at Thrapston, had told us we should have rare hard beds at Huntingdon, the 'sizes being there as we understood, but found 'em passed and ourselves freed from that danger.

We came the next day to the Sun, facing Trinity College, to din-

(1) The Lancashire pronunciation of "ashamed."

ner, after which he sent to Mr. Tunstall⁽¹⁾ and Wrigley;⁽²⁾ the man brought word that Mr. Turnstile was not within, but Mr. Wrigley would wait on us; he did so, and not knowing of me, was (to be sure very agreeably) surprised; I sent for the college barber, who said that a letter was come for me; we walked about with Mr. Wrigley till their chapel time, then Mr. — and I through our college, and so to the coffeehouse, met Dr. Dickins,⁽³⁾ Professor of Law, to whom I spoke about Mr. L., whom I conducted to the Doctor's soon after and there left him to say his lesson.

I went to enquire for thy letter, and calling on Mr. Wilson, who knew of it, he got it for me while the bell rung to our chapel; I was greatly rejoiced with it, and went with him to chapel and sat by his direction in my place (that would have been if —) of Senior Fellow; thence into the hall to salute such as I knew, but did not stay supper, being engaged at Mr. Wrigley's, where we had some tarts, &c., and spent the evening with him and Mr. Tunstall and Mr. Culm,⁽⁴⁾ whom I saw at Chester, an acquaintance of Mr. Leigh's. I shall go see my old friend the Master of Trinity⁽⁵⁾ by and by; he was not at chapel last night, but is as well as usual, and the news of his being at Bath was not true. Dr. Hooper is not here, Mr. Wilson thinks that I may have his room and Dr. Vernon's, one room serving both. Mr. L. is to stay till next term to keep his second act as per advice of the Professor; it will be the 13th of April. My stay is not yet so determinable, but I shall put on a gown if there is one long enough, which the tailor who has furnished Mr. Leigh believes there is not, but I shall perhaps confute him. My horse carried me very well, and we have done notably considering, have had weather fair enough, and roads beyond expectation; and though I have a journey

(1) See vol. ii. part i. p. 42, *Note* 1.

(2) See vol. i. part ii. p. 400, *Note*.

(3) Francis Dickins, Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, LL.B. 1705, M.A. per Lit. Reg. 1711, LL.D. 1714, in which year he was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law. He ob. 6th June 1755.

(4) Benjamin Culm, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1719, M.A. 1723, S.T.B. 1731.

(5) Dr. Robert Smith.

cold as usual, I am, thank God, very well and hearty, and if thou and thine continue so, I shall hope to do so too. I am glad thy sister Ann mends so finely, that they all got safe home from Disley; my dear love and service to them all, and be sure to take all possible care of thy dear self, for that is my chief concern. I flatter myself by this specimen that I shall hear from thee often. God be with us all. Amen.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

From Mr. Leigh's lodgings, Cambridge,
March 17, 1742-3.

My dearest love: I am come to breakfast with my neighbour here, and he is sending his man Mr. William home, being obliged to stay so long himself and having no occasion for anything but civil law at this present, so I write a line by him, though the post would perhaps have informed thee sooner, that I received thy second letter and let Mr. L. know that our guides to Derby were got home; the particulars of their return Mr. L. I suppose will have from his lady.

I lay last night at a chamber in Trinity College which Mr. Wilson procured for me; Dr. Vernon's room somebody was got into before I came, and I would not consent to their removal, or else it would have been ordered. I writ to thee by Caxton on Tuesday night; I drank tea with the Master⁽¹⁾ that afternoon, and he showed me through the Lodge, which was new painted, and bare of furniture enough at present. He has been but about a week come from London. There is nobody but he and his sister there, and their beds, &c., hardly established. I stayed with him till chapel, and went with him thither, and he asked me to supper, &c., but I chose to go into the hall and to call on him without ceremony another time. I supped with the V. Master, and Mr. Morgan said he would lend me a gown, and yesterday morning I called at his room before dinner and put it on, and sent for a shoemaker and

(¹) Dr. Robert Smith, Professor of Astronomy, Bentley's successor as Master of Trinity in 1742. He ob. 2nd February 1768.

bought a pair ready made, and so dined in the hall as if it had been in my own right. I have never seen the college so thin of Fellows resident before, and most of them young ones born since my memory lived here. After dinner as I was going to Mr. Leigh's, two of the Fellows spoke to me about shorthand, one of 'em, his name Brooke, I believe is a pupil-monger, for he talked of two young gentlemen learning, but one of 'em to leave college in a few days, &c.; I told 'em how it was, and suppose to hear at dinner to-day further of 'em; if any learn, I shall stay for 'em, or else march on to London, though Mr. L's. company is another engagement not to be too hasty in my progress. He went yesterday to the Professor about some query, and came to me at the coffeehouse to go back with him by Dr. Dickins's order, with whom accordingly we supped, and stayed till ten; he is brother to Dr. Dickins of Liverpool. I lay in college, I say, but did not sleep much this first night, but am pretty well—but must conclude, for Mr. William is ready to depart; so as to the matter of Mr. Warmingham I shall write ere long according to the directions of thy letter, but ye may enquire to be certain as to the expiring of the lease, and look amongst 'em in the box for the counterpart if there, &c.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, in Manchester.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Cambridge, Tuesday night, March 22, 1742-3.

I have called on Mr. Leigh and find him very busy preparing for his Act, which is to be (not to-morrow as was said but) on Thursday in the afternoon; so while he is so taken up that he can scarce find time to write, I take up the pen to let it be known that we are very well, and shall be very glad to hear the like concerning our spouses and families. We hope that Mr. William is got well home man and horses too, and that the grey will be fit to wait upon his master Doctor, and carry him and the new load of honour which is to be weighed out to him safe and sound to Manchester.

We have passed most of our evenings together since our arrival at Mr. Wrigley's, Culm's, Fogg's, Dr. Heberden's,⁽¹⁾ and, as I told thee, Dr. Dickins's; we dined last Friday with Mr. Tunstall, and he had invited the worthy Dr. Zach. Grey, who writ me that worthy letter about Mr. Byron's⁽²⁾ ingenious notes on *Hudibras*, the honour and reputation whereof I had no occasion to resign in person, the mistake having been cleared up without my intervention; however, I added to this discovery the confession of my own unacquaintedness with the author whom he is going to illustrate. The Dr. is very civil and has invited us to come see him, and passed that evening with us at Mr. Culm's, and was as full of stories and jokes Hudibrastic as could be.

Mr. L. dined with the Master and eke the Mistress of his college on Sunday by invitation, as I did with the Master of ours and his sister, and the esquire Beadles three, and two gentlemen of St. John's, Dr. Heberden and Mr. Rutherford.

I dine and sup in our hall as orderly as if I was of the college again, at the Vice-Master's table, only twice at the Bursar's, being thereunto particularly engaged by Dr. Bouquet⁽³⁾ the Hebrew Professor and Mr. Johnson, who is the present Bursar, and not Dr. Hooper as was talked on.

⁽¹⁾ William Heberden, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1728, M.A. 1732, M.D. 1739. He practised physic in the University until about 1748, when he settled in London, and the year following was elected into the Royal Society. He first wrote on the idiopathic disease which he called *angina pectoris*; he was also a writer in the "Athenian Letters," and contributed some Notes to Grey's *Hudibras*. He was the friend of Jeremiah Markland, the learned critic, who bequeathed to the Doctor all his books and papers. Dr. Heberden was a pious and amiable man, learned and diffident, and beloved by all good men in a degree which perhaps few have experienced. He ob. in 1801, in his 91st year.

⁽²⁾ "The worthy and ingenious Mr. Christopher Byron of Manchester," who enabled Dr. Zachary Grey to enrich his edition of *Hudibras* in 1744 with "a great number of excellent Notes." See *Lit. Anecd.* vol. ii. p. 541, *Note*. He is styled in another place, "Dr. C. Byron," p. 534. The "confession" in the text doubtless requires a little modification.

⁽³⁾ Philip Bouquet, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A. 1692, M.A. 1696, S.T.D. 1706, S.T.P. 1711, Regius Professor of Hebrew 24th August 1712. He died Senior Fellow of Trinity College 12th February 1748, æt. 79.

I was surprised to hear Dr. Bouquet enquire of me concerning a man in our town that was perjured in denying his own letter, &c. I explained the matter about Mr. Fletcher, whom I perceived he meant, as well as I could, and was a little astonished how a story so unreasonably to a man's disadvantage should reach the ears of an old Senior Fellow that scarce stirs out further than the hall; but suppose that he had it from some stranger dining with the Bursar that had got that idle tale by the ears and lugged it in.

I was asked the first week of my stay if I remained here any time, and was told of some that had thoughts of learning shorthand. Yesterday morning I breakfasted with Mr. Robinson, a Cheshire gentleman, one of our fellow commoners, who said at my first coming that he was to go to Chester in a fortnight or he would have learned; I told the gentleman who mentioned it to me that he had time enough to learn, but, however, not to urge him; he goes next Monday, but he and Mr. Richards, a Dorsetshire youth, fellow commoner also, began together, and I was with 'em at breakfast again this morning and they are both pleased with it; and this afternoon Mr. Wilson went with me according to appointment to Mr. Carter's chamber, nephew to Judge Carter, where he and Mr. Ashenhurst, nephew to Dr. Ashenhurst who was here in my time, had their first instructions, being both, as Mr. Wilson says, designed for the law; they are both pensioners, I believe. So with these four scholars I shall have employment enough at present, and as they succeed it may perhaps raise the curiosity of others and oblige me, if it should so happen, to stay as long as my neighbour Dr. Leigh that is to be.

I have met with one of my London beginners, the younger of the two Custs brothers, a fellow of King's, who did but just begin before he went to Cambridge; I saw him at St. Mary's on Sunday and drank tea with him yesterday, and hope to finish his instruction now I am here. He says they were about forty-eight of them in their chapel from a Monday morning six o'clock till Tuesday three in the afternoon before they could agree about the choice of a new Master, who by their charter must have the majority of them pre-

sent, and there were three parties, the biggest for Dr. George,⁽¹⁾ the next for Mr. or Dr. Thackery,⁽²⁾ and the third for Mr. Chapman;⁽³⁾ at last, rather than let it lapse to the Bishop of Lincoln,⁽⁴⁾ as it must do if no choice be made in forty-eight hours, they chose Dr. George.

My dear, I desire thee to write as oft as thou wilt, because the anxiety of absence is capable of no other relief but that of hearing from thee often; if thou dost but keep hearty, and the children, I shall abide here with the more alacrity. Time was when I had thee with me here; and from that day time has never passed so agreeably to me as it has always done in thy beloved company. Tell me often that thou dost well, and it will be next to chocolate of thy making for me here. My dear hearty love and blessing to ye all, my dear flock.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, near the great Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Trin. Coll. Tuesday afternoon April 12, 1743.

My dearest love: Mr. Leigh, whom I met coming from our Master, with whom he had been according to form to acquaint him with his Act to be kept to-morrow, tells me that a brother of Mr. Davis,⁽⁵⁾ Fellow of St. John's, and one Mr. Wood of your town, are

(¹) William George, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1719, M.A. 1723, D.D. Com. Reg. 1728, elected Provost of King's College, Cambridge, 18th January 1742-3, and ob. 22nd September 1756. He was an excellent Greek and general scholar, and whilst Dean of Lincoln (1747-8-1756) was the warm patron of Dr. Samuel Pegge, the antiquary.

(²) Dr. Thomas Thackerey, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; afterwards Head Master of Harrow School and the Tutor of Sir William Jones, the orientalist.

(³) John Chapman, educated at Eton, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; B.A. 1727, M.A. 1731, Chaplain and executor to Archbishop Potter, and D.D. of Lambeth. He was Archdeacon of Sudbury and Rector of Mersham in Kent. He ob. in 1784 æt. 80.

(⁴) Dr. John Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

(⁵) George Davies, Fellow of St. John's College Cambridge, B.A. 1722, M.A. 1726, B.D. 1733.

going down to Manchester this afternoon, and as he is busy, desires me to write and send his services, &c.; and also he bids me to ask you to enquire if there be at the free school any young lad that is likely to come from thence to St. John's in a year's time or so, for a propriety scholarship, so if you can get any intelligence of this nature, let us have it as soon as you have got it, because Mr. L. has been desired by a friend to make this enquiry, who proposes, as I imagine, to send a lad to that school with a view to a scholarship if there is room for such expectation.

It has been very odd cold-getting weather of late, and several have complained as if a touch of the London illness,⁽¹⁾ which is mentioned as reigning there to a great degree, had got hitherto. Mr. Wrigley should have gone to London, but had had such accounts that he did not care to venture. My scholar Richards, the chief of writers amongst 'em, is confined but not very ill. I told my neighbour Leigh of your advice in the last letter of Saturday April 2nd, about late hours, &c.; he pretends to deny his tempting me to stay. I was with him last night at his own apartments, where he was very busy preparing for Wednesday's engagement, and I doctoring myself with a little Bishop.⁽²⁾

Pray is the visitation at your College⁽³⁾ adjourned, or goes it on?

⁽¹⁾ The epidemical distemper called the influenza is stated in May 1743 to have visited in the last two months almost every family in London, so that the surgeons and all the phlebotomists — "bleeding, sweating and blistering being the prescribed remedies" — had full employment. It was felt in most other parts of England, generally carrying off old people. In Edinburgh the weekly burials increased to treble the ordinary number, but in Ireland the people were not affected, "only a sickness was observed among horses." It extended to the Continent. — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xiii. p. 272.

⁽²⁾ Mulled port wine.

⁽³⁾ Peploe now returned to the Chapter House, armed with ex officio authority as Visitor of the College, having resigned the Wardenship to his son in 1738, and the Fellows, shrinking from the prosecution with which they were menaced by the Bishop, and evidently desirous of peace, made many concessions to the domineering Visitor, and a reconciliation ensued. Dr. Hibbert Ware has published the appeal of the Chapter to the Bishop, which subdued his irritation and softened his impetuosity of temper. — Vol. ii. pp. 85-6. When they listened to the Visitor the Fellows certainly did not "listen to the voice of the charmer," for he came to them in a very unpromising spirit.

Where is Dr. Legh now, with you or at Halifax, or where? Is it still a secret what sad things they are which he heard of the Fellows and Warden too? For as for me, that it was 'long of me, as they say, that the Fellows did not submit as the Bishop would have 'em, I don't think anybody would tell him so but by joke upon him and his Grand Master.⁽¹⁾ It is possible that they may puzzle him about me, by hints and stories;⁽²⁾ but if there was anything intelligible he might soon be satisfied if he would, for I never hid nothing from him that was necessary for his information. I love the Dr. for his extreme kindness and care of me at a time when half my life depended on it in a manner, and he knows more of me as to these puzzling matters than most people can tell him of me, if he would believe himself in what he knows much better than they do, or may know if he pleases. I thought to have wrote to him, but, lest he should be wandered elsewhere, forbore.

While I wrote this, Mr. Brooke, one of the tutors here, called to pay me for his pupil Robinson, who is gone to Chester; he says he has another that he would have learn, but he waits for the parents' consent, &c. I did not expect to meet with scholars here, because of short stay intended, or would have made it known that I should abide here awhile, and left London till another opportunity. I have writ to Mr. Camplin of Oxford, by Mr. Peter Leigh and his friend Mr. Madox, to desire to know if it will be proper to call at that University sometime in May; they went back last Saturday, Mr. Sedgewick and Halsted went with 'em to Newport, whither they got very well. I am to go to Mr. Wallis of Trinity Hall at three o'clock, but must carry this letter to Mr. Wrigley's chamber first to these

(¹) Like Bishop Peploe, Dr. Legh was a strong partisan of Hoadly and the Erastians.

(²) After all, there might or might not be some ground for these "hints and stories," as on the 20th October 1735 a Fellow (probably Mr. Bankes) gave a paper to Dr. Byrom about the absence money, in hopes by the assistance of Dr. Dunster to accommodate the difference between the Bishop and the College. — *Hist. Coll. Church*, vol. ii. p. 81. The Vicar of Rochdale and Dr. Byrom, two men of wise and genial judgment, must have felt that their advice, at least as regarded the Visitor, would be unavailing. But perhaps, like Locksley, they "allowed for the wind."

travellers, who set out thence about that hour, which approaches. Your son and brother are very complaisant to their valentines; what must I do with Fanny Lever?⁽¹⁾ for you being my original valentine, I must copy from your instructions. To be sure Sir Darcy paid half the subscription to Dr. Richardson's book,⁽²⁾ and she must either pay the other to have the book, or sink the title, or give it to somebody else; so which does she choose to do? The post comes in here I think on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Mr. Leigh had none last post, nor I any since thine of April 2nd; as he writ generally I sent my service in his. Sir Darcy's book is in Latin, an account of the English Bishops; I would have subscribed for it myself because he learned shorthand, but met no opportunity in time; so if she does not take the book by her subscription, I will, or pay the second payment, and she may have it or how she pleases, for I only mean a compliment to him, or half a one as it happens. My dear love, I will trust thou art well and my beloved children while I hear nothing to the contrary, but still am delighted to hear from home that home is well. My love to sister Brearcliffe and wishes of a good journey to Halifax if they go, and service to Dr. L.[egh], Mr. Naylor, John Spanaule, &c. — Thine, thine, J. B.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, near the Great Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

Edward Byrom to John Byrom.

Manchester, April 14th, 1743.

Honoured Sir: On Friday last the Bishop of Chester came to town to hold his visitation, and began yesterday morning in the same form as usual (Mr. Roberts the Registrar⁽³⁾ calling the clergy and

⁽¹⁾ One of the two sisters of Sir Darcy Lever, not in the printed pedigree of the family.

⁽²⁾ A new edition of Godwin de Præsulibus, with a continuation of the Lives of the Bishops to the time of publication; Cambr. 1743 — a work of great accuracy. For some account of Dr. Richardson see vol. i. part ii. p. 584, *Note*. The book is not in Dr. Byrom's library.

⁽³⁾ Edward Roberts Esq. Deputy Registrar and Clerk to the Dean and Chapter of Chester ob. July 11, 1754 æt. 74. — *Lanc. MSS.* He left an only son John Roberts

the rest of them over first). He began first with John Fletcher and desired to know of him whether he submitted to his visitorial power, because he had objected to it before. To which Mr. Fletcher replied, he could not give a direct answer. The Bishop then wanted to know what was the matter. He answered, that he understood that his lordship came only to adjourn the visitation, because his counsel was not come from London as was expected. The Bishop was angry at him then, and said, Did he not know that he would come and visit them at that time according to his agreement? Upon which Mr. Fletcher desired he might have a little time, or that if his lordship intended to do business, he should be very glad to have counsel. The Bishop told him that he had already submitted to his power by interrogating him at the former visitation; besides, he had had the opinion of the learnedest man there was. Mr. Fletcher then desired he might have counsel. The Bishop said he would not trouble himself any more about him. The Bishop then proceeded to enquire a little further into the case of the absence moneys, and proved first (by chapter books) the election of Mr. Bolton and Mr. Copley, and their deaths, and said that the poor had been cheated out of a very great sum of money, being the absence moneys of these two Fellows. (I suppose Mr. Bolton had been absent most part of his time, being both rector of Taxall and curate of Stockport, and that he seldom came to town but when he came for his money, and then he could scarce stay to preach a sermon; and that Mr. Copley had been absent a good part of his time, so that there was about the sum of £500 due for their being absent and kept from the poor.) He said likewise, he proposed to them several times in chapter to have the absence money settled, but they refused so to do, and they would hear of nothing that he proposed.⁽¹⁾ Then he went about his own absence money, and complained loudly against them for stopping

Esq. Secretary to the Treasury, whose sister and eventual co-heiress married the Rev. Thomas Tonman M.A. Prebendary of Chester and Rector of Little Budworth, maternal grandfather of Sir Oswald Mosley, now of Rolleston, bart.

(¹) This statement was incorrect. See Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Hist. of the Coll. Ch.* vol. ii. p. 81.

that, when he was summoned to attend in particular by the Queen. That he had had the best opinion in England about it, and that he insisted upon having it again; said that he had been sadly abused by them all, particularly by Mr. Cattell, of some things that have been said since he was here last (I believe it is about what passed at our house one night when Dr. Leigh was there and Mr. Cattell, but my mamma will tell you about this affair much better.)

This day at the visitation the Bishop opened it with a little speech, that as he had heard that what he had said yesterday was said to be abusing the ashes of the dead, he thought proper to let them know that it was not so; he was not abusing the ashes of the dead, but it was doing the poor justice (or some words to that effect). The reason why he said so was that somebody had said that he was abusing the ashes of the dead yesterday, and I believe his son Mr. Bradshaw⁽¹⁾ happened to hear this, and so told his lordship. He began about reading the exhortations to the Holy Communion, about having the Sacrament every Sunday and not taking in the people's names the day before. He said that having the Holy Communion every Sunday was a new doctrine and of their own making; that it was against his mind when they began it,⁽²⁾ and a deal more on that subject. He said that people's names that received the Sacrament should be taken down on the day before; that it was a thing done in the primitive church, and that they might as well do it here. (Here Mr. Hoole, happening to be present, spoke something against it, that it could not be done when persons lived a great way from this town and did not come till Sunday. Mr. Cattell likewise said that it was a thing they could not do, when there were above seven hun-

⁽¹⁾ His son-in-law, James Bradshaw of Darcy Lever Esq., whose mother was not — Kirk, but Elizabeth daughter of John Rigby of Wigan (see vol. i. part ii. p. 325, *Note 1*), as appears by a pedigree continued from Dugdale's Visitation 1664, in the Coll. of Arms, by Sir Charles Young, Garter, and transcribed in *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxi. p. 502, et seq.

⁽²⁾ The Bishop succeeded in compelling the Fellows to have monthly instead of weekly communions, which continued to be the custom for a century from this time, although the primitive usage has been now restored.

dred communicants.)(¹) He mentioned the Prayer before Sermon,⁽²⁾ and argued with them a good while on that subject. Lastly he said he demanded an account of the Offertory money that had been given several years, where and how it had been disposed of, and insisted upon having an account. He mentioned several sums and different times that had been received for that use, and he could never learn what became of it, particularly one day there was carried a large bag from the table and he knew not what became of it. I believe the churchwardens for the several years can give an account of it. My uncle was churchwarden a few years since, and saith he can give an account of what he distributed, for he gave it himself. And then his lordship adjourned till to-morrow morning at eleven o'clock.

Honoured Sir: As above, I have sent you an account of what I can remember. My uncle Houghton⁽³⁾ and Mr. Battersby have both taken an account of what has passed. Mr. Cattell would have writ to you himself this post, but has not had any time since morning. The town is very full of talk about it. I have not any other news to send you at present. I was in the chapter house myself both days. The Warden⁽⁴⁾ speaks very handsomely for the body, but the Bishop is sometimes sharp a little with him. I shall be very glad to hear from you when you have an opportunity. My mamma will write to you herself, and orders me to conclude, for it will be too late. We are all very well at present, and I hope you received my last letter. Mr. Cattell and I and Mr. Houghton and Mr. Battersby went to the old coffeehouse last night over against here, for them to compare their notes, and I to help them out, and they are pretty correct. My sisters join with me in duty to you, and I beg leave to conclude myself your dutiful and obedient son — EDWARD BYROM.

(¹) At this time the parishioners communicated at the mother church, and not generally at the chapels.

(²) The Bidding Prayer, which the Bishop objected to.

(³) Of Bagulegh in Cheshire. See *Byrom Pedigree*.

(⁴) Samuel Peploe jun., son of the Bishop of Chester, born in 1699, of Wadham College, Oxford, B.C.L. 1726, D.C.L. 1763, Prebendary of Chester, Rector of Taxall, Rector of Northenden, Chancellor of Chester, Archdeacon of Richmond, and Warden of Manchester! He ob. in 1781, æt. 82. His portrait, from a painting by Gainsborough, is engraved in Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Hist. of the Coll. Ch. of Manchester*.

John Byrom to his Son.

Trin. Coll. Thursday night, April 21, 1743.

Dear Tedy : I have time, I hope, after supper here, being retired to my room, to thank thee for thy letter, and Beppy for hers, and mamma for hers, which by the date I find was writ the post after, but both came together yesterday. Dr. Legh's I must thank him for next post, and direct by his orders to Halifax, where I therefore suppose he will then be. He tells me that he was examined upon oath, which I wonder at somehow, for does the Visitor take this liberty with such as are only spectators or standers by, as it were? If he should do so with us laymen, we should not approve of such inquiries. I hardly think that he would have called upon me if I had been at home; if he had, I should have told him just what I had thought proper, and more perhaps than he would have thought so; does he expect that private conversation is to be chronicled in his court, or that if Mr. C. [attell] or any one should have been overtaken with a saying that might expose him to the Visitor's resentment, that one would tell *him*, of all men, for that reason? Mr. (Dr. I should half say) Leigh and I being great whigs both in our way, are surprised at such arbitrary proceedings.

I am glad that your uncle H—n and Mr. Batt. were there to write; thou stood before 'em, but that is being but the shadow of a writer, my lad; prithee employ some of thy leisure time in practising a little thyself. It is not quite right that thy father having invented the best thing of this kind, thou shouldst only be a stander by whilst others exert the use of it. I have a greater desire, and with greater reason, for the preservation of a thing that may be useful to posterity, that my only son, whom I love most entirely, may be able, if he be willing, to transmit the invention down to future times, wherein perhaps it may, if so transmitted, be received into use and custom and become more and more serviceable than a new thing is apt to appear at first starting, though this has had both private and public testimony of its being worth encouragement. Thy shorthand and Dr. Legh's differ in one thing, he writes wide enough for a coach and six to drive in his roads, and thine is like that of the Hanging

Ditch after sermon ;⁽¹⁾ however, it is very legible and correct upon the whole, and shows that thou mayst do anything in it that thou hast a mind, which mind is thy own, and therefore see that thou cultivate it and plant in it the most good, honest, virtuous, praiseworthy things in it that thou canst hear of, read of, or think upon ; for what thou sowest in it now, thou wilt reap from it ever after.

I have been this afternoon at a Divinity Act as they call it, and since then with my three scholars, the two first being, one gone to Chester, the other finished in a manner fit to leave to himself, but these happen not to be so quick in their motions. I have not yet had an answer from Mr. Camplin at Oxford, which [I] expected before now ; sent to know if May would do there, if not, I shall come home ; and whether it will be worth the while to call at London, I determine not yet, not being able or willing to stay there if I do. I am much grieved at the news of Dr. Cheyne's death at Bath, where I thought to have called from Oxford, if possible, to have seen him and Dr. Hartley ; I have lost a new acquaintance and friend in the Dr., and shorthand too. I want all your companies sadly, but while you are all well, and do well, I am content. My dear boy, give me the pleasure of seeing thee a good lad in all particulars ; the foundation of all good thou knowest is in God, whose creature, whose image, whose son thou art, if the desire of being so which is in thee be cherished, excited and animated by thy own willingness to stir up the good and rule over the evil that it rule not over thee. Good and evil is set before thee ; choose the good and God will assuredly give it thee, for that is his will and desire, to which I most heartily commend thee and all with thee. Write again to thy loving pappas. —

J. B.

I have not time to write to Mr. Broome this post ; it is well if this goes, for it is ten o'clock almost. Good night, from my Trinity cell.

To Mr. Edward Byrom junior,

in Manchester, Lancashire.

Per Caxton.

⁽¹⁾ Crowded — then and now.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Trin. Coll. Saturday night, April [23rd] 1743.

My dearest love: I am going to pass the evening at Mr. Wilson's, who lived in the turret here above me, in the room where Dr. Smith lived when I had the honour to breakfast or drink tea with you, and so just step into my cabin at the bottom to salute thee and thank thee and Tedy for the letter that Mr. William brought yesterday. He came just after his Master⁽¹⁾ had been admitted Doctor by the Vice-Chancellor at the theatre, at which ceremony I was present, but not permitted to be at his exercises in the schools. He says that he shall go on Monday, and when he is gone I shall think more of moving too; though I have as yet no answer from Oxford, which I desired might be directed for me at Trinity College. If I should go to London I shall see Dr. Andrew, and then I shall see what to say; but as for his coming to Manchester, I shall see that too when he comes, but not before, nor your Bishop neither. I thank Tedy for his account of the visitation — much the old matter, that Mr. Cattell is an impudent Fellow, &c., which I knew before. I think it [would] do better to write to Dr. Legh by his Dr. namesake than by the post, but had mind to ask how ye all did to-night. I long to be with ye again, and don't care how soon. Dr. Taylor⁽²⁾ told me yesterday that on Thursday, when I went to the schools to a Divinity Act the Master of St. John's⁽³⁾ asked him if I stayed any time? that he thought of taking a lecture in shorthand, &c.; he sent to ask me to dine there with him and Dr. L. last Sunday, and was very civil and free, and when I came away the Mistress, as I told thee, desired her service to thee. You may let Mr. Brookes⁽⁴⁾ know that there is no vacancy at St. John's at present; they talk of one in about a year

⁽¹⁾ Egerton Leigh of St. John's College Cambridge, LL.B. 1728, LL.D. 1743. See vol. i. part ii. p. 440, *Note 3*.

⁽²⁾ See vol. i. part ii. pp. 361, 528, *Notes*.

⁽³⁾ The Rev. John Newcome D.D., elected Master 1734-5, and ob. 1765, Dean of Rochester. There is a not very favourable notice of him in Nichols's *Liter. Anecd.* vol. i. p. 553, et seq.

⁽⁴⁾ The Rev. Henry Brooke, the High Master of the Grammar School. See vol. i. part i. p. 294, *Note 2*.

hence, and I suppose that as Cambridgeshire has the right next to Lancashire, if there had been none of that county, one from this would have been sent to the school. I was desired to enquire by Dr. Leigh, who may know more particularly about it if Mr. B. wants any further information. Mr. William says that he called at Dr. Holbrook's, and that she was as well as could be expected was his information, so suppose that she has recovered the sudden attack that she had when we were there. I think I had better write a line to Tedy to let Mr. Warmingham know that he has authority to ask for the keys, and send by Dr. L. a line to Mr. Broome to give him if there be occasion, for I would willingly take private steps to obtain what I think he can hardly refuse, before public ones. I thought Sir O. Mosely had come to Ancoats, and that the bells rung; did not somebody write so, or is he gone thither again? I shall have a loss of Dr. Cheyne, with whom I had begun a correspondence, and would have seen him if I could; but if God grant me thy life and health, I shall enjoy the happiness of my dearest friend. Be sure to take all possible care of thyself and thy company. All healths and blessings be with ye all. — Thine and theirs, J. B.

John Byrom to his Wife and Daughters.

Trin. Coll. Tuesday morning April 26, 1743.

My dearest love: I wrote to thee last that I would write per Dr.⁽¹⁾ Leigh and to Dr. Leigh; but he is gone this morning before my bedmaker called me, or anybody else that I heard; and indeed I was tired with Monday's ride — whither? To Newmarket in a coach with Dr. Leigh, Mr. Wrigley, and Rutherford, to see Dr. Williams that was of St. John's; I was tired, I say, for though we rode as easily as could be, had good road and horses, &c., yet you know that the mere motioning in a close coach is a queasy business. However, Dr. L. liked it so well that Mr. Rutherford and he made a bargain about the grey horse, which the Dr. sold him for twenty guineas, and hired a chair and pair with which he set [out] for Thrapston this morning. I had a letter near finished for yesterday

(¹) Dr. Egerton Leigh of High Leigh, to Dr. George Leigh, vicar of Halifax.

morning, and thought indeed that he would have stayed till noon to-day and have gone to Huntington, where Mr. Rutherford talked of us going with him; but he is fled away, and so pray when he comes tell him that I wish him a good journey. Whether it be the coach, or what it be, I am not quite right; but I'll go [to] the coffee-house and get a good breakfast and then I hope I shall be better, and, my dear, I wish thee good morrow, for this not going till night, I'll call on thee again by-and-by.

Tuesday night, April 26, 1743.

Dear Dolly: I wish thee joy of thy birthday, and that I could have been at home to celebrate it with thee. I desire thee to tell mamma that I came to the coffeehouse here where Dr. Leigh lodged to finish my letter, and finding two gentlemen, Dr. Heberden and Mr. Rutherford of St. John's, we have been lamenting the loss of the Dr's. company, as everybody does that had the happiness of it here, till it is just upon ten o'clock, and so my letter cannot go unless I conclude it soon. It has been constant rain all day. My room smokes so that it will not bear a fire, as I had tried twice. I heard in our Hall to-night that Dr. Vernon is gone to London with Dr. Hooper, and that I am to remove into his chamber. My dear child, I shall be glad to hear from thee and from all of you often, till I am so happy as to see you again, which I don't care how soon it is. Love, love to all my little flock. God bless them all. Amen.

Dear Beppy: I went with my letters last post at the same time I had done before, when I was time enough, but it was just gone; and yesterday I had thine, so I open mine to thank thee for it, and mamma for her hand in it; your uncle Houghton's I hardly expect. Tedy's account of the Visitation and yours I fancy is enough. This £20 paid to the piper for the Bishop's dancing attendance is very handsome, if he fare so well upon every adjournment, let's see, July 6, once a quarter suppose, fourscore pounds a year, a good living; what, do they pay it without taxing him? Perhaps the Bull's Head is a dear house; if he comes again in no better humour, since £20 is too much, whoever pays or treats may sure appoint where, suppose our neighbour the Calf's Head and Pot Luck, would not that be

cheaper? I think the Visitor will not raise credit from these Bullyhead expeditions. What is the meaning of not putting the absence money in his pocket? He would give away, but, as I take it, it has been given to the poor, and unless he would give it again to the rich, why can't he be satisfied? Well, I hope Dr. Leigh will teach him the civil law in English, and his namesake in Spanish, since he has learned at Halifax to be a clothier. I had a letter from W. Chad. yesterday; he is for Leicester and his mother quickly; they are well there. My service to your aunt Ann and Mrs. Man. [waring], whose betterness I am glad to hear of. I have not yet had any letter from Oxford, to my wonderment; I fancy Mr. Camplin is not there. I incline to come home from hence if nothing happens, for I long for all your good company. Good night, mamma. I write from the coffeehouse, it has struck nine. The being all of you well, thank God, has made me better. I remove to Dr. Vernon's room to-night.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, near the great Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

By Caxton.

The Rev. Thomas Cattell to John Byrom.

Sir,

Manchester, April 28, 1743.

On Monday April 18, part the third of our Visitation was finished, and if it never be published, it will certainly be an unspeakable loss to the world, though some illnatured critics affirm that the errata will be much larger than the pure text.

Wednesday April 13, our names being called over in the usual form, his L——p began his proceedings by demanding of Mr. Fletcher whether he acknowledged his jurisdiction or not. To which Mr. Fletcher, at first demurring, and then answering that he would be heard by his counsel, the B—— proceeded, that it was all one to him, he did not care whether he would own his jurisdiction or not; for he was satisfied, he knew, he certainly knew (and some people have a marvellous knack at knowing things I promise you) that he had a jurisdiction over him, only he had a mind to ask him that

question; that his appearing and pleading in that court was confessing his power and giving him a jurisdiction over him, though it should be granted that he had none before, &c.

Then he spent some time and pains in rummaging the old register book and searching into the times of the election and death of Mr. Bolton⁽¹⁾ and Mr. Copley,⁽²⁾ and proved them to be a couple of errant stinking knaves, who had cheated the poor of God knows how many hundred pounds, as clear as a whistle, by not paying their absence money; and consequently that we are a parcel of perjured villains, as round as a hoop, and deserve expulsion for not joining with him in stopping their dividend, which he proved from various topics (too large and learned to be here inserted) we might legally have done.

Then his own absence money rose on his stomach; there was a certain stoppage in it that he could by no means digest. He had the best opinion in ENGLAND, he said, that he was not liable to any mulct during his attendance upon the affairs of the nation. Then he read over his opinion, which indeed was clear enough in his favour, and therefore worth a thousand of your Ward's and your Fazakerly's and your Audley's and your &c's. opinions. He was pleased indeed to conceal the name, but by the pompous character he introduced it with, we must conclude that it could be no less than my Lord Chancellor's. (The next day I was informed by a friend whose opinion it was. And whose was it, think you? Why, O wonderful! whose should it be but Mr. Williams's of Chester!) Here I took the freedom, with all submission, to confront that opinion with Mr. Fazakerly's and Dr. Audley's opinions, which were read. His L—— heard them with great contempt, and when it was done, he demonstrated, as plain as a pike-staff, that they were not one single word to the purpose. And when I took the boldness to say that Mr. Fazakerly had always been esteemed as a counsel of great

(¹) Mr. Roger Bolton, Chaplain, was elected Fellow in the room of Mr. Warburton deceased, April 3rd, 1701. — *College Register*.

(²) Mr. John Copley was elected Fellow in the room of Mr. George Ogden deceased, July 9th, 1706. — *College Register*.

learning and integrity, he replied, with some warmth, that he was a great *patriot* indeed. Well, say or do what we would, his lordship would not be driven away, but still kept hovering over this abominable absence money, at which he cast many a rueful glance and made many convulsive girds and snatches, and at last fairly and roundly told us — I expect it, and I *will* have it. And now the murder's out. O auri sacra fames! What a filthy rout and pother is here about this odious *pelf*!

At the preceding Visitation his lordship was pleased to put a single interrogatory to us in writing, which was, whether we had been conformable to the constitution of the Church of England? to which we answered innocently and *bonâ fide* in the affirmative. And how many ways do you think he proves us to be perjured upon this head? Why, three. First, because we read the Exhortation to the Communion every Sunday, though it be sufficiently known that we have a weekly Communion; and therefore there is no manner of occasion for that notice. Secondly, because we do not take the names of the communicants, every time they receive, at least some time the day before, as the Rubric directs; though, by the way, we have good reason to believe that there is no communicant in our congregation but what is either personally known to one or other of the clergy, or has given his name sometime before, though perhaps not the day before, nor every time he receives. Thirdly, because the Offertory money is not disposed of as the Rubric appoints; though the clergy are always allowed the liberty to dispose of any part of it that they think proper, and entirely approve of the distribution of the rest by the churchwardens.

The weekly communion is likewise a great and grievous innovation, and an heavy charge upon the parishioners. No matter for primitive practice or ancient canons. They are all Popish. The Church of England enjoins her members to receive but three times in the year. N.B. The church ley is increased but £14 per annum by the weekly communion, no insupportable burden one would think.

The use of the Canonical Prayer in the exhortatory form is like-

wise an heinous offence, and we are commanded (such is the will of our Diocesan and Visitor) to change it into an invocation.

I intended to give you more and merrier, but my vein of mirth, you see, is exhausted, and that I am almost at the end of my tether. And so farewell. — Yours, THO: CATTELL.

[In shorthand.] If you go to London, inform Dr. Andrews of the state of our case if you have an opportunity, for we hear that he is to give the Bishop the meeting in July next, and pray enquire and send us word if it be so.

To Mr. John Byrom, at Trinity College,
in Cambridge.

By Caxton.

John Byrom to Rev. T. Cattell.

Trin. Coll. Cant., Tuesday May 3, 1743.

Reverend Sir: I received yesterday your account of part the third of your Visitation, but do not perceive that it will be such a loss to the public as you seem to think if it be not published; for saving that addition of fairly and roundly telling you, I will have it, there is scarce anything but what the second part, which I have by me, may supply, and which, as I conjecture, will be published as soon as Dr. A. comes down amongst you.

Neither do I imagine that if all the three parts, and all the three score that are yet to come, at the rate you go, there would be so many errata as you talk of. There is but one erratum through the whole proceeding hitherto that I can discover, and even that might be corrected by a good translation.⁽¹⁾

Perhaps you may think that fairly and roundly is an erratum, but in the passage of absence money, which the party speaking is here represented as willing to take in hand, I apprehend that the usual phrase, fairly and squarely, which I own to be more classical, could not be spoken with any propriety; for what propriety can the word absence give to the word money, when, according to the square root of your

⁽¹⁾ Peploe was never translated, but died Bishop of Chester. As a sort of compensation he was allowed to resign the Wardenship of Manchester in favour of his son.

charter, it is plainly a disjunctive and not a copulative? And how, if it was, such a Copley-tive is insisted on in one own-ly case when it is so loudly clamoured at in others, I can't conceive; indeed it may do, roundly speaking, but whether squarely or no, at least till the circle is squared, I leave the reader to judge.

In the mean time I beg leave to opine that in respect to the money, this circular figure of speech is the plainest rhetoric, and no critic, I dare say, will affirm that it is not downright English.

However, as it is absence money that influences the will in this sentence, I will not be too positive; they who were absent will no doubt take upon 'em to determine such things; for my part I was only present, and must confess that it seemed to me as if other matters besides money were absent, such as criminals, evidences, counsels, which commonly appear in other courts all of 'em, but at that which you mention were chiefly absentees, not to say cause, judge, and parties now and then, not to mention the defunct whose mummies were painted in such dark Egyptian high-rogue-glyphical characters that in short a bystander could not be much edified; and whether A stands for Assheton or Andrew, B for Bishop or Bolton, C for Cattell or Copley, it puzzles my alphabet to determine without counsel from Doctors' Commons or the Arches.

Therefore, till I have seen Lord Chancellor Williams's opinion, I must go according to my own, which is, that three verses of such a chapter as yours is enough; especially as the original Hebrew word Jewry, or, as the Babylonish Talmud reads it, jury, which is in all other MSS., is omitted in yours, a circumstance which perhaps has misled you into erratas, adjournments, tavern bills, &c. But — give my service to our folks; I have made so much haste to thank you for yours that I shall be too late; it strikes ten, the last moment. Is Dr. Leigh come safe to your hands? — &c. &c. &c.

Pray correct my erratas.

To the Revd. Mr. Cattell, Fellow of Christ Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

By Caxton.

John Byrom to his Son.

Trin. Coll., Saturday night, May 21, 1743.

Dear Tedy: I received thine yesterday with pleasure, as I wish and want to hear the confirmation of the news of your being, your mamma and all of you, well, for which I bless God and hope that I shall meet and find you all so. I am glad that Mr. Cattell is so much better; my service to him. I hardly think the Bishop will come off so well as thy letter hints at; yet if Bishops drop so, and he cares for removing, who can tell but, as he loves visiting, he may not have the opportunity of exercising his talent that way in every Bishopric, and, till he has reduced the Fellows to obedience, it may look like deserting them. It should seem that Mr. Warmingham has no occasion for time to consider of so plain a case; if he is out of pocket or in, is no sort of plea for refusal, and therefore acquaint him plainly and civilly that I am not and will not be any judge or party in his disputes, but insist upon his delivering the key, which he has no right nor reason to keep, and if he puts me under a necessity of obliging him to it, I can't help it. I hope your aunt Phebe is better than Dolly's letter said she then was; my love to her, and tell her that I wish it most heartily. The young gentleman who was recommended to me by Dr. Dickins⁽¹⁾ to learn shorthand, has in effect learnt it already so as to answer his desire of acquiring enough to do with while I stayed. Mr. Robinson is to be here from Chester to-night, as I was told at supper, from whence I came to thank thee for thine. A man from St. John's waited to tell me that the Master⁽²⁾ and Seniors desired my company at dinner to-morrow in the Hall, so I said I would wait on 'em. If that opportunity mentioned of Mr. Downes or any other so fall out in time, let me know, or else I must seek for some other. The Master of Trinity⁽³⁾ is come from London to-night. I have writ a line to Mr. Law to know if he be

⁽¹⁾ Francis Dickins LL.D. of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law 1714. He ob. 1755.

⁽²⁾ John Newcome D.D., elected Master in February 1734-5, being the Lady Margaret Professor. He ob. Dean of Rochester in 1765.

⁽³⁾ Dr. Robert Smith.

in the country, that I may call to see him if he be, as it is but four miles out of the road by Stamford, from which place my other scholar of Trinity Hall is returned after some absence; I must get them acquainted if I can, that they may help one another; this younger seems to be the forwarder in the notion of it already, through a desire that is sharper and an attention to ply his time. What we desire that we acquire; and therefore, my dear child, set thy desire, imagination, will, or thought upon that true, ever-enduring good which will make it truly happy and clever. It must be either to God or from him; to him is to heaven, and from him just the reverse. Therefore bethink thee and place it right and be happy for ever, which is what I desire for thine and for all of us, so be it. Amen. Thine, J. B.

To Mr. Edward Byrom junior,
in Manchester, Lancashire.
By Caxton.

[Shorthand Journal.]

Brassington: I left Cambridge last Saturday [28th] between five and six o'clock, having bought Mr. Brooke's horse, saddle and bridle, nine guineas; he bought him of King, a dealer in horses, for eight guineas, and he bought a saddle and bridle for 16s., and changed the saddle for another 7s. more, altogether 23s. I had a mind to his horse upon sight, but did not think he would have parted with him till he said in talking that he supposed nobody would buy his horse because they thought that King would not have sold him if he had not had some fault or other, and then I said, Why, do you really intend to part with him? and he said, Yes, he did; and I said, I assure you, sir, I have no other scruple but taking him from you who may want him; if you have indeed an intention to sell him, I will have him and give you what price you please; and so we agreed that I should have him and he took nine guineas, and after he had been at Trinity Chapel to read prayers for one Mr. Morgan a Bachelor, he ordered the boy to bring him to a piece⁽¹⁾ behind the library and I

(1) A "piece" is a name at Cambridge for an unenclosed plot of ground, such as

mounted him; the boy that brought him was holding him and the horse bit his hand and surprised the lad, and he was so brisk that I questioned whether he was not a little vicious, but he did very well and carried me to Huntington very well. I overtook a butcher going home to St. Ives from Cambridge market, and he went my pace to Fenny Stanton, where I treated him with a tankard of ale and we parted; he asked many questions about my horse, guessed him at about ten pounds. I came to the George Inn, Huntington, forgot to write by the post, which went by Sunday after one o'clock while I was in the parlour, being just got up, being tired and hot, and had bohea tea in bed. I went after five to Wansford on Sunday night, and on Monday morning to King's Cliff, where I light at the Cross Keys, and understanding that Mr. Law was at his house by the church, and his brother very ill of the stone, I went to him, and wondered that I should find him there, since he had writ me word that he should be gone in answer to a letter of mine enquiring after him whether he should be there; I went up with him to his brother's, who had took soap lees⁽¹⁾ for about ten days, and seemed to be in an incurable way. Mr. Law rid out with me over his brother's grounds; he received a letter while I was with him, and said that he should have gone that day but for me; I dined and supped with him, and lay at the Cross Keys; he had a letter from Mr. Innys, with one enclosed from somebody that did not put their name, relating to the book called *Christianity not founded on Argument*,⁽²⁾ which the writer said had caused some (or much)

Parker's Piece, &c. The space between the library and the river is very small, and affords little room for horsemanship.

(¹) Soap was one of the ingredients recommended for this excruciating malady by the famous Mrs. Joanna Stephens, and is probably not altogether disused by the faculty in our enlightened and scientific age. See vol. ii. part i. p. 152, *Note*.

(²) "*Christianity not founded on Argument, and the Principle of Gospel Evidence assign'd.*" 1s. 6d. 1742. The author was Henry Dodwell, a lawyer, son of the learned divine of the same name. This feeble but subtle attempt to undermine Divine Revelation by pretended zeal for religion, was ably answered, amongst others, by Dr. Doddridge, whose work "*Of the Evidences of Christianity*" was published in 1742 and 1743, and his "*Three Letters to the Author of Christianity not founded on Argument,*" appeared also in the latter year.

clamour, especially among the divines, who pretended to say that he was an adversary, deist or atheist, and that he was desired by some serious people, who had an opinion of Mr. Law, to desire him to consider and give his opinion. He had the book by him, but spoke as if he had not read it quite, but seemed to think the author in earnest, but indiscreet, injudicious; mentioned as we were riding "Woe unto thee, O Chorazin!" as a proof that miracles were arguments, said that there was an ambiguity in the word reason, that Christianity was not founded upon human reason, but if reason was a motive, that we must have some ground or motive for believing it. He told me that Mr. Talbot had been with him, who had said that he owed much to me; Mr. Law said that while he was there and talking about me there lay upon the table the quotation which I had writ out for him from Cotelerius of St. Peter's words, which he told Talbot of; said that Mr. T. talked of going into orders; he showed me a passage in Bertot about a man being like a "*cors pourri qui ne peut donner que des vapeurs malignes*," &c., and mentioned people being spiritually speculative and building the spirituality upon an unmortified life; mentioned Dr. Cheyne and his not writing to him upon some matters because his letters would fall into the hands of his executors; that the Dr. was always talking in coffeehouses about naked faith, pure love; that Dr. Cheyne was the providential occasion of his meeting or knowing of Jacob Behmen, by a book which the Dr. mentioned to him in a letter, which book mentioned Behmen; that he was very diligent in reading Horace, &c., at Cambridge, and that he met with Taulerus in the public library, that he liked him; that meeting with Bishop Bramhall,⁽¹⁾ called Athanasius

⁽¹⁾ This admirable churchman was born at Pontefract in Yorkshire in 1593, was made Prebendary of York and Ripon by favour of Archbishop Toby Matthews; afterwards in 1634 by Lord Viscount Wentworth he was promoted to the See of Londonderry, and was a vigorous supporter of all the spiritual and temporal rights of the Church. Cromwell called him "the Irish Canterbury," (Laud). He was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1660-1, and ob. 1663 æt. 70, Bishop Jeremy Taylor preaching his funeral sermon, with a short account of his life. His works are chiefly aimed at the peculiar errors of the Church of Rome; but to compare him with Dr. Cheyne is to compare Archbishop Laud with William Huntington S. S.

Hibernicus, who, in answer to an argument used for the Roman Church from their saints such as Taulerus, had said something like "You may take your foolish Taulerus to yourselves," which particularly made him think that he judged wrong; but he met with Frere Laurens,⁽¹⁾ the gift of Dr. Cheyne to one Mr. Hogge, which book he bought somewhere, and the reputation of Dr. Cheyne served to balance that of Bishop Bramhall; that he had sent him (Mr Law) his reasons for the passage in his late book about Sir Isaac Newton, who, he told me, had shut himself up with one Dr. Newton for three months in order to search for the Philosopher's Stone from Jacob Behmen, that his attraction and the three first laws of motion were from Behmen,⁽²⁾ that Behmen best explained himself, that in short all was over as it were, all laid open; that he had writ to Sir James Edwards against the Quakers, against printing Frere,

(¹) See Catalogue.

(²) "Newton at one period of his life was a believer in alchemy, and he even devoted much time to the study and practice of its processes. The Rev. Mr. Law has stated that there were found among Sir Isaac's papers large extracts out of Jacob Behmen's works, written with his own hand, and that he had learned from undoubted authority, that in a former part of his life he was led into a search of the philosopher's tincture from the same author. He afterwards stated in a private letter, that his vouchers are names well known, and that they have assured him that 'Sir Isaac was formerly so deep in Jacob Behmen, that he, together with Dr. Newton his relative, set up furnaces, and were for several months at work in quest of the tincture.' That this statement is substantially true is proved by Dr. Newton's own letter. We have seen in Sir Isaac's handwriting, *The Metamorphoses of the Planets*, by John de Monte Snyders, in 62 pages, 4to, and a key to the same work, and numerous pages of alchemist poetry from Norton's *Ordinal*, and Basil Valentine's *Mystery of the Microcosm*. There is also a copy of *Secrets Revealed, or an open entrance to the Shut Palace of the King*, which is covered with notes in Sir Isaac's hand, in which great changes are made upon the language and meaning of the thirty-five chapters of which it consists. I have found also among Sir Isaac's papers, a beautifully written, but incomplete copy of William Yworth's *Processus Mysterii magni Philosophicus*, and also a small manuscript in his handwriting, entitled *Thesaurus Thesaurorum sive Medicina Aurea*. In addition to these works, Sir Isaac has left behind him, in his Note-books, and separate MSS., copious extracts from the writings of the alchemists of all ages, and a very large *Index Chemicus* and *Supplementum Indicis Chemicus*, with minute references to the different subjects to which they relate." — Brewster's *Life of Newton* (1855, 8vo), vol. ii. pp. 371-2.

that Frere himself had owned that he writ only historically; that the Philadelphians, Dr. Lee, &c., were strange people; that Dr. Lee, as I understood him, had made or interpolated the Arabic Mountain MSS. which he had shown me at London, and quoted "Quotus quisque est qui non velit esse aliquid," &c. He guessed, upon my mentioning Mr. Freke, whom he had known, that he might be the person who wrote him the anonymous letter about the book *Christianity not founded on Argument*. I told him of Mr. Brook and mentioned his notion of Mandeville, which he wondered at, and said Mandeville had since writ a book which showed what he was.⁽¹⁾ He had no correspondence with Mr. Warneford,⁽²⁾ but had a notion that he had known one of that name, mentioned that Dr. Sharpe had said that he was once a fine writer, but quoted some passages to prove that he was now out of the way. I told him of Mr. Webster and what happened at Trinity College between him and me, and the story of his setting young Gibbon and his father at odds about his smoking; he said that he had never spoken to him in his life about it, that he had reconciled them when he was turned out of doors. He said that I might make some hymns, showed me Joh. Angeli Silesii *Cherubinisher*,⁽³⁾ a little German book of distichs, chiefly all upon Behmenish principles though his name not mentioned. A Roman Catholic author, a Jesuit I think, Rusbroc:,⁽⁴⁾ lay upon his

(1) Probably his "Free Thoughts on Religion." He was a rationalistic writer, and his morals were very defective. He has occurred before. See vol. i. part. ii. p. 381, Note.

(2) Probably the Rev. Richard Warneford M.A. Vicar of St. Martin's, Coney Street, York, and Sub-Chanter of the Cathedral, who published in 1757 two volumes of Sermons on various subjects. Dr. Sharpe, son of the Archbishop, was his friend. He was the grandfather of the Rev. Samuel Wilson Warneford D.C.L. Rector of Bourton on the Hill in the county of Gloucester, who ob. in 1855, in his 92nd year. Let Birmingham tell of his munificence.

(3) Of J. Angelus Silesius an account will be found in Vaughan's *Hours with the Mystics* (1856, 12mo), vol. i.

(4) Byrom has a fine poem called "The Prayer of Rusbrochius," but it is free from all the peculiarities of the Church of Rome, and breathes the very spirit of the English Church.

table in folio. He talked of the verses about the Pond,⁽¹⁾ and of printing them with the other, but I said those about Enthusiasm would do better by themselves I thought, that I was only afraid of mistaking his sense; but he said I had only added flame to the fire, that the verses were very good ones, and so I promised to send them to him.

I left Cliffe on Tuesday [31st] near noon, and came to the Angel Inn, Stamford, where I dined, it was a very hot day. I came thence about four o'clock, and Dr. Stukeley was just walking to his house as I rode by, so I spoke to him and drank a glass of mead with him at his door, and came to Waltham that night, and the next morning a man who had been beyond Stamford came in there, and he and I came to Nottingham together to the Fox and Goose; the man much pleased with my company, having rid with one Mr. Pyddie the day before, who said nothing (qu. the shorthand scholar?). We had exceedingly good ale at the house, whence I set out for Derby that night, and sent for Dr. Hardinge, and word was brought that he was out of town; while I was eating some fish to my supper he came in, and I went with him to his house, where were some ladies with his wife, and we talked away about Lady Huntingdon, Methodism, &c., and I took leave of them that night, and next morning near noon I set out for Brassington, where I dined, and one Mr. Taylor from Jamaica called there and asked if anybody was

(1) "The Pond," and "Enthusiasm, a Poetical Essay," are both printed in Byrom's poetical works. The latter is dated "Manchester, September 3, 1751," and was founded on Law's "Appeal to all that doubt," p. 305. Byrom treats the subject in a plain and sensible manner throughout, and Warburton, in a letter to Hurd says, "As to Byrom's notion of enthusiasm, I agree with him in this, that it is foolish to confine the passion to religion, when it spreads through all human life; but I disagree with him in supposing an *intense application* of the mind to any object is enthusiasm. If I were to define it, I should say it is such an irregular exercise of it as makes us give a stronger assent to the *conclusion* than the evidence of the premises will warrant: then reason begins to be betrayed, and then enthusiasm properly commences. This shows why enthusiasm is more frequent in religious matters than in any other, for those interests being very momentous, the passions bear the greatest sway, and reason is the least heard. This too detects the sophism of Byrom's epistle." p. 99.

going to Buxton, so he and I came thither together; he was of Rochdale, had been fourteen years away, Mr. Whitehead was his godfather; he had been privateering, and told me stories of Jamaica, Carthagen⁽¹⁾, was jealous of being robbed upon the moors; lay at the Eagle and Child. I went to the well, where I met first young Mr. Legh of Booth⁽²⁾ and a young man with him who was to be the parson of the church at Knutsford by his gift; then I saw Mr. Croxton, Wilson, Mrs. Walker, Stot; had a boiled chicken to supper, half done, and asparagus; passed the evening with Mr. Croxton, Wilson, and other gentlemen; lay at the apothecary's up town, gave the woman sixpence; came to breakfast at the well, went thence before dinner to Disley, where I drank bohea tea in abundance for sixpence, and as I was going to feed my horse Mrs. Poole was 'light from hers, and she and Mr. Hallott (a clergyman who had married her relation) came into our room where I was and drank tea, and she told me that Mrs. Byrom is well; we came away together; she borrowed a short cloak, it being rainy, to go to Buxton. I came to Stockport, enquired if anybody had come at the White Lion, and was told that my son and daughter had been there, and were gone about half an hour; I rode hard to overtake them but could not; it rained pretty much. I came home near nine o'clock and found my dame pretty well, thank God; did not stir till Monday. On Saturday Mr. Hoole [and Mr.] Leigh came to see me, and Mr. Dickenson, who began to learn shorthand that night, having paid his money before and thinking to begin on Monday, but falling into talk about it, I began with him and gave him his alphabet while Mr. Leigh was here.

Sunday, June 12th: Mr. E. Byrom's birthday, he drank tea with us, sister D[orothy] from Kersall and Mrs. H. Crompton here.

(¹) In 1743 was published a "Journal of the Expedition to Carthagen^a," being an ANSWER to the "Account" of that Expedition, which did not reflect much honour upon the land forces, the commanding officer being inexperienced, the expedition badly concocted, and the result disastrous.

(²) Peter Legh of Norbury Booths Hall Esq., only son of Thomas Legh Esq., by his wife Helena, daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston of Aston Bart., was born 4th March 1722-3, married in 1744 Anne, daughter and coheir^{ess} of Peter Wade Esq., and ob. 1804.

Monday, 13th: Tedy's birthday, nineteen years old, God bless him!

Tuesday, 14th: night I was at Dr. Mainwaring's, where were Mrs. Noble and Miss Cotton and Mrs. Ann Byrom.

Wednesday, 15th: (my box from Cambridge, left to the care of Mr. Brown, came safe), I was at Mr. Hoole's in the evening to enquire if Mr. Leigh (Dr.) was at home; he was at Mr. Nicholls's playing at cards; Mr. Nicholls came in to invite us thither, but I stayed with Mr. Hoole. Mr. Leigh came to us, and we were at supper when Dolly came and told me mamma was ill, and wanted me; I left them immediately and came home.

Thursday, 16th: Mrs. Byrom rid to the Quay house,⁽¹⁾ where we all dined; thence I went to the College, where I found Mr. Thyer, Deacon, and Clayton over their books, upon the first [chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the] Romans, which they began again, Dr. Deacon having a design for a new and correct translation.⁽²⁾ Their rule was to stay till seven, Mr. Clayton coming again from prayers; but Mr. Thyer going to prayer, we parted and agreed for six o'clock. I went home, and thence to Mr. Newton's shop, where Mr. Pigot⁽³⁾ came and then Mr. Croxton and Byrom⁽⁴⁾ with him; I went up stairs and stayed with them till late, and after we had paid our reckoning Mr. Croxton ordered more in, and we talked about the visitation, Chubb,⁽⁵⁾ whom Mr. Byrom mentioned and I said was a heavy, low writer, the most opposite to my taste that could be, and he said that Lawyer Chetham liked him, and I said that I wondered at it, that he — that had more sense than a hundred such — that he should do so, that he had read bills in chancery

⁽¹⁾ See vol. ii. part 1, p. 307, *Note 1*.

⁽²⁾ This foolish design of a wise man for a new and, as he conceived, *more* correct translation, was wisely abandoned.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Thomas Pigot, the lawyer. See vol. i. p. 135, *Note*.

⁽⁴⁾ Probably the Doctor's brother-in-law, Mr. Edward Byrom.

⁽⁵⁾ For a notice of this "heavy, low writer," see vol. ii. part 1, p. 166, *Note 2*. Edward Chetham, the lawyer, was not a convert to Chubb's deistical opinions, although probably a less devout Christian than his exemplary cousins, Samuel and Humphrey, to whose large estates he succeeded.

too long. We entered into deeper matters about creation, inspiration, reason, than one should do at drinking, but Mr. Croxton would have it so, and Mr. Byrom did not understand me. Mr. Pigott said that the Fellows had advised with him, and he would have had them stick up to him⁽¹⁾ from the first, that nobody would pity them they had behaved so, that they should have published every day's proceedings and [sent] them to the members of parliament.

Saturday, 18th: Lawyer Clowes and his lady drank tea with us in the study.

Monday morning, 21st: yesterday afternoon new church, Mr. Dickenson my new shorthand scholar preached upon "Master, what good works shall I do?" &c.⁽²⁾ Mrs. Byrom went in the chariot to her brother's, I drank tea by invitation at Jo. Clowes's with brother Edward Byrom, walked into the fields, looked at my horse Black Jack, which everybody seemed to like, was at Mr. Leigh's to supper, and passed the night with him and Mr. Nicholls talking about matters; Mr. Nicholls said among other things that Jacob Behmen's notion of Adam and Eve being one person had appeared to him upon consideration to be very likely. This morning Mr. Pickering⁽³⁾ of Thelwall sent to desire my company to breakfast, had sent last night twice or thrice; he came and breakfasted here, he came to go to the burial of Mrs. Stock of Ordsall. We are to meet at Mr. Leigh's after dinner; Mrs. Byrom going to dine at her brother's, and myself I suppose; Mrs. Noble, Cotton, Mainwaring to be there.

⁽¹⁾ *i. e.* to the Visitor. Mr. Pigot, the lawyer, appears to have blamed the Fellows for their Christian-like forbearance towards the contentious Bishop.

⁽²⁾ St. Matthew xix. 16.

⁽³⁾ John Pickering Esq., son and heir of John Pickering of Thelwall Hall in the county of Chester Esq., a Barrister of Gray's Inn, by his wife Abigail, only daughter of the Hon. Philip Sherard of Whissendine in the county of Rutland, M.P., (second son of William Lord Sherard Baron of Leitrim). He was born about 1674, succeeded his father in 1703, and his uncle the Rev. Robert Pickering M.A. Rector of Eccleston and Croston in the county of Lancaster (who had no issue by his wife Mary, daughter of Hugh Curre of Kildwick Hall in the county of York Esq.) in 1704. He married Charlotte, daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston of Aston in the county of Chester Bart., and ob. 26th December 1747, being an active Magistrate and Steward of the Fee of Halton and Manor of Widnes.

June 23rd: library, to keep it for Mr. Thyer, who is gone to Wakefield with Mr. Cattell. Mrs. Byrom gone in the chariot to dinner in Quay Street. Mr. Dickenson was to have breakfasted with us, being learning shorthand, but did not come. Brother Edward Byrom gone to Byrom upon my horse Black Jack that I brought from Cambridge, bought of Mr. Brook.

Dr. J. Andrew⁽¹⁾ to John Byrom.

Doctors' Commons, 5th July, 1743.

Dear Sir: I heartily congratulate you and my cousin on the birth of your son. The care I am satisfied that will be taken by you in that part which a godfather promises leaves no room for a scruple, and I shall accept with pleasure that office. I wish I was near enough to attend in person, but as that cannot be, you will be pleased to get one to stand for me who may be most agreeable. I hear that my coz Chaddock will very soon be at Manchester, and as I know no other method, I must trespass upon you to desire him to give me credit for four guineas, to be distributed amongst those who have had the care of and attendance upon your lady, which I will repay him the first opportunity. My best wishes of health and happiness attend you and your lady and the rest of my cousins, to which my sisters desire to join theirs. I am your most affectionate kinsman and most obedient servant —

J. ANDREW.

To Mr. John Byrom, at Manchester,
in Lancashire.

John Spanaule⁽²⁾ to John Byrom.

September the 11th, 1743.

Honoured Sir: These are [to] return you thanks for your love and great kindness unto me. If it was in my power, I could take as much pleasure in repaying kindnesses as receiving them; but since

⁽¹⁾ See vol. i. part ii. p. 625, *Note 3*.

⁽²⁾ The work of this pious and unlettered mystic referred to in this letter had been brought some time before under the notice of Byrom and Law, neither of whom seems to have thought it sufficiently matured for the press. See vol. ii. part i. pp. 310-313.

I am not able to do that, my desire is that the Lord our God who stirred up your mind to show kindness unto me would repay you for it, even bless you and yours with spiritual blessings, and likewise enable you to make right use of your spiritual and temporal talents, that at the end of days he may then say unto you and yours, Well done, good and faithful, enter into the joy of your Lord. I am glad to hear that your wife is safely delivered and got well out of doors again, and I wish you much happiness of your little son, and that you may live to see him brought up. I have some time ago finished my intended work in setting down my thoughts of the fall of man and the new birth, and if it please God to give me life and health I shall now go about correcting it. I have had a great many down cases since I saw you, and at present I am but in an indifferent state of health. In the spring of the year, when I was so badly in a slow fever that I thought very much of being called away by death, I found trouble in my mind for having been so dilatory in not finishing my work; but now having finished it, I shall endeavour to correct it in such a manner as to make it fit for the press, and I hope it will be for the glory of God and the good of the people; for my desire is that the children of men may be happy and the kingdom of our Lord great, yea exceeding great; and if you find it to be such, I doubt not but you will lend me your helping hand towards publishing it, in getting me as many subscriptions as you can, for except I can get as many subscriptions as will defray the charges of the press, it is not like to be published. If I could have played the hypocrite in agreeing with the Moravian Brethren, I might have had subscriptions in abundance amongst our societies; but as things stand amongst us at present, party zeal bears so much sway, I have but little expectations amongst them. The whole contains only 325 pages. When I took my pen in hand I had no other thing in my view but the glory of God and the good of men, and I purposed it long time before I set about it, and after I begun, when I found myself not able to express my mind in such a manner as I thought would suit this polite age in which we live, I often made a stop. When you have read it over, if you do not find it such as I suppose

it to be, I will not desire your assistance in publishing it. From your well wisher and servant to command — JOHN SPANAUGLE.

My love to your three reverend neighbours, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Cattell, and Mr. Clayton; and likewise to your sister Brearcliffe and her family, and to you and yours. Farewell.

JOHN SPANAUGLE.

I expected you would have come to have paid a visit to Dr. Leigh, but when he told me he did not expect a visit from you, I made bold to write.

Please to tell your sister all the Moravians are gone from the new house where she called, and Mr. Westlie's party chiefly prevails.

To Dr. Byrom at his house in
Hanging Ditch, Manchester.

1744.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Halifax, Jan. 14, 1743-4, Saturday morning.

My dearest love: I received thy letter last night by a man that came from Stony Royde, and was very glad of it, that ye were all well; I had intended to have writ by the carrier that day that the Dr. wrote by the post, which went out earlier and prevented me, and there was no opportunity before without giving 'em trouble of enquiry.

John Spanaule and I came to Littlebrook⁽¹⁾ the first night; it was such a warm sunshine after we set out that with the help of my great coat I was in a great sweat and somewhat fatigued with it, and in the cooler evening got cold thereby; we called at Rochdale at the Roebuck⁽²⁾ and dined upon cold roast beef, and chose rather to take our lodging at Littlebrook, which we reached almost in the light, and met with good entertainment. We met with a clergyman⁽³⁾ about half a mile from Rochdale who asked me to take a bed with

⁽¹⁾ This is a variety in the spelling, but probably not the old name of Littleborough.

⁽²⁾ At that time and for a century afterwards kept by the respectable family of Marriott.

⁽³⁾ The Rev. Edmond Holme M.A. of Brown Hill?

him, but having been told that he had made such invitations frequently to one of my name and not made 'em good, I excused myself, which he was not averse to. We lay at the old house,⁽¹⁾ where they had better liquor than Manchester affords in public, or perhaps private houses. My cold struck from my shoulders to my feet in the night time, which kept me wake a little, and then it walked off and left me. The next day made a fine appearance in the morning, and I should have left my cloak but for a breeze of wind and a suspicious looking cloud that hovered over Blackstone Edge, up which I trailed with it for fear of rain, which after we were come on the side befell, but, having time enough, we retired into proper houses and escaped its fury. The frost being quite thawed, it was more troublesome hoofing; but we came safe and sound to our journey's end, having rested chiefly at the Mills, about four mile off, where I got a mess of cream, where also the ale was pretty good,⁽²⁾ and amongst some retirers from the weather there sat an honest soul who having got a share of it to philosophise upon, discovered to his companions that I was, he was sure, some Presbyterian priest or other, and that he had seen me before, and he was rather too far gone to resist his demonstration. We light at Mr. Naylor's, where I drank tea, John being gone to enquire about his neighbours, for he had determined to stay at Halifax because of the weather; he came to us and then went according to promise to pass his hours with his curate Mr. Holdsworth,⁽³⁾ and I went with Mr. N. to mine, where I have rested me since. The doctor was sent for to poor Miss Grime, who died the next day, which occasioned Mr. Clegg's coming, who just called here after the burying, and so I desired him to let thee know that we were well; there came with him one Mr. Thomas Legh or Lee from Leeds, and his father-in-law and brother-in-law, whose names were Totty and Markham; Mr. Clegg soon left us, but they stayed supper, and passed the time after as usual. This

(1) The "old house" was the Falcon, of wood and plaster, and near the church, as appears by a pen and ink sketch of both now at Pike House, taken a century ago.

(2) Ale and cream seems a strange mixture!

(3) The Rev. John Holdsworth, Curate of Coby 1733, and Lecturer of Halifax Church 1740; probably a member of the Southowram family of that name.

young gentleman and his own mother it seems are at bitter variance, of which he was so full that it made the most part of our conversation, intermixed with speculations upon the behaviour of the clergy, which he did not seem to approve of, only in Dr. Legh as vicar of the place; I thought myself obliged to hint certain matters to him, to which he replied with great life and spirit, and also took in good part my endeavours to mollify his noble ardours. He invited us to Leeds in our passage to Sir William Lowther's,⁽¹⁾ then talked of, but whether to be effected will depend upon your sentiment when Black Jack arrives here. The next day Mr. Hutchins, who was my shorthand scholar, poor Kinchin's curate, and married a fortune, and is now at Mrs. Holme's, and preached in town that day, came hither at the Doctor's intimation by Hannah Forth; and while he was gone to preach, Mr. Okenhausen, a German and Moravian Brother whom I had seen at Jemmy Hutton's; they drank tea and supped with us, and we discoursed upon their subjects, in which the German seemed to be more experienced than the others. The parson of the parish where Mr. O. lives, though wont, he says, to be very civil to him, has taken upon [himself] to excommunicate all such of his flock as will go to hear the Brethren preach, as they call themselves; amongst the rest he refused the wife of the churchwarden, who is going to complain at York. None who are directed by the Brethren preach in the fields, though approved laymen may within doors. Mr. Ingham⁽²⁾ does it no more, nor David Taylor your Salford preacher, who upon his being mobbed, sent, it seems, for their directions, and Mr. Hutchins has been about Ashton by request from some of Taylor's hearers. John Nelson was he that first invited John Wesley into Yorkshire, who has not used his old acquaintance fairly, as O. represents, and acteth against his own knowledge as he

(¹) Sir William Lowther the second Baronet of Swillington M.P., died s.p. in 1763 when the Baronetcy became extinct, and the estate passed to his cousin the Rev. William Lowther, Rector of Swillington and Prebendary of York, who was created a Baronet in 1764, and whose eldest son, having inherited the Barony and Viscounty of Lowther on the death of James Earl of Lonsdale in 1802, was afterwards himself created Earl of Lonsdale.

(²) See vol. ii. part i. p. 171, *Note*.

feareth for him. Mr. Gambold⁽¹⁾ is married and gone into Wales, where he was born, and where the clergy have desired him to come. They think that Mr. Whitfield begins to scruple his own doctrines of predestination, which he has promised their Brother Spangenburg not to preach on at least, and would, I apprehend, have come to them but for the fear of being told to forbear preaching at [all] for a while. This is all new that I can tell thee, having seen nobody else but Mr. Naylor and Dr. Alexander,⁽²⁾ with whom all are well. Dr. L. tells me the carrier goes to-day, and so I write and desire to know thy thoughts whether when the horse comes I shall ride with him to Sir William L's., as he desires I would, or come home. I am very well. I have eaten, for it came before us again, hashed duck. I thank God for the blessings which I here recollect, and thee for thy beloved nursing, and dinner is preparing.

My dear love to you all and let me hear from [you] as soon as may be, and send the horse or bring it just when convenient for yourselves.

If W. Chadd. has sent Ch. Wesley's letter, let Black Jack bring it. Dinner on the table.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester.

[Shorthand Journal.]

Beeston, Sunday, January 22nd: Dr. Leigh and I and his man Daniel set out from Halifax on Saturday, that is yesterday, about noon came to Burstall,⁽³⁾ called on Mr. Coleby, with whom we talked about Methodists, Wesley, John Nelson, Moravians; thence to Millbridge to John Spanaule's, who was working in his house there, and there was his wife and two daughters, and his son, who was

⁽¹⁾ See vol. ii. part i. p. 216, *Note 4*.

⁽²⁾ Probably John Alexander of Halifax M.D., who married Frances, daughter of Samuel Hamer of Hamer Hall in Rochdale Esq. by his wife Mary, sister of Sir Henry Ibbetson of Denton Park Bart. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xvi. p. 263, et seq.

⁽³⁾ Birstall, near Leeds, of which there is an interesting history in Whitaker's "Loidis et Elmete," p. 248, also in Scatchard's "History of Morley," out of which Saxon parish Birstall was formed and the church founded by Robert de Lacy, p. 283.

working; I gave the woman 3s. for his three children, and after Dr. Leigh gave her something and put John upon his horse, and so we rode ride and tie, as they call it, to this place. Dr. Leigh called at Mrs. More's⁽¹⁾ before we light, and their maid showed us to this house, the Talbot. After supper we went to Mrs. More's, who showed us Mr. Frere's pictures, and we talked matters over, and came away about nine o'clock; their son came after to ask us to breakfast, which we excused; he sat with us a little and told us of his brothers turning Methodists or Moravians, that his mother was born a Quaker.

(Saturday, 28th, York): Mrs. More came while I was at breakfast, or just before, Dr. Leigh being at church preaching, and she gave me some account of herself, and that this Brown, by her description, though she avoided naming him, was the first that spoke so as to touch her strongly; she asked us to their house again. We dined upon a piece of veal, and John Spanaule with us, who went home while the Dr. was at church in the afternoon; I gave him half a crown for his son. Mr. Pollard the parson's son came for me twice, I went thither after church and we sat there, till we went to Mrs. More's, with Mr. Pollard and his brother and his daughter, drank tea; then went and supped at Mrs. More's, whose husband went to bed as we went to supper; she had a collection of letters in MS. of Count Zinzendorff. Mr. Pollard an old, briskish man, that would not for his houseful of gold let Mr. Ingham⁽²⁾ preach in his church, [and] if Wesley was there would smite him. Our landlord came home at night, told us of the murder and firing of Mr. Scurr's house, the parson of the place, his daughter to be married.

Monday, 23rd: came to Leeds, dined at the Talbot with a young surgeon, I suppose, for he talked of Mr. Freke; went before dinner to Mr. Swale's, bookseller, after Dr. Leigh had been to see Miss Nettleton,⁽³⁾ but found nothing extraordinary; after dinner were

(¹) In 1723 George Moore of Beeston Gent. gave £60 towards augmenting the Perpetual Curacy of St. Mary's, Beeston, in the parish of Leeds, along with Lady Betty Hastings, and others. — *Loidis et Elmete*, p. 102; Parsons' *Leeds*, vol. i. p. 434.

(²) The Rector of Aberford, near Leeds.

(³) Probably a daughter of his excellent parishioner Thomas Nettleton M.D., a

going to Sir William Lowther's, towards the bridge saw Mr. Thomas Lee, that was at Halifax at Miss Grime's⁽¹⁾ funeral, at his own door, who directed us another way. We came to Swillington⁽²⁾ in the evening, Sir William came to us in the butler's room where we were cleaning and took us into his study, where were his lady and two sisters, and we drank tea, very courteous, friendly people; our talk chiefly about Mr. Law, J. Behmen, Mr. Warneford.

Wednesday, 25th: After breakfast we set forth to York, Dr. Leigh having an inclination to go thither, dined with Lady Margaret Ingham at Aberford,⁽³⁾ Mrs. Holland, Miss Delamot that was, dined with us. The Dr. started up suddenly after dinner, and we came away. He rid along with a traveller before me, too fast for my beast, that was a little fiery; Daniel stayed for me, and he and I came into York when it was dark to the George; the Dr. gone out; he came in with Mr. Clarke, who supped with us; sent for Mr. Warneford, who was engaged, but after sent that he would come, and he did, and talked away about Behmen immediately with great earnestness. Mr. Clarke came and went in a chair, which the Dr. paid for. Mr. Warneford stayed but a little after.

Thursday, 26th: at breakfast at Mr. Clark's; fair for oxen, &c., in the Collier Gate, where he lived; Dr. Leigh came in after, being out before breakfast, and said to me, "Come, you must come immediately to the Dean⁽⁴⁾ and Mr. Lamplugh,⁽⁵⁾ who are waiting for

philosopher and mathematician, who dying in 1741-2, æt. 58, was buried at Dewsbury, where he was born. He was the friend of Sanderson, Halley and Newton, and communicated several papers to the "Philosophical Transactions." Watson records his monumental inscription. — *Hist. Halifax*, p. 498.

⁽¹⁾ Greame, Græme.

⁽²⁾ Swillington House, the seat of Sir William Lowther. The two sisters, Amabella and Jane Lowther, died unmarried. Lady Lowther was a second wife, and the eldest daughter of Sir William Ramsden of Byrom Bart. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of John Viscount Lonsdale.

⁽³⁾ See vol. ii. part i. p. 171, *Note*.

⁽⁴⁾ Richard Osbaldeston D.D., Dean of York 1728, resigned his Deanery in 1747, consecrated Bishop of Carlisle in the latter year, and translated to London in 1762, where he died in 1764.

⁽⁵⁾ See vol. ii. part i. p. 24, *Note 1*.

you to learn shorthand, I have told them so and so." I went with him and found them there, and they began. I left the Dean the alphabet, and he paid me ten guineas for himself and Mr. Lamplugh, who paid him again at night, for we agreed to meet at Mr. L's. at five o'clock. We dined, the Dr. and I, at Mr. Clarke's, and Mr. Warneford came there and ate some apple pie, had been a vegetable feeder twelve years I think; he talked away according to his manner, and before prayers left us suddenly. Mr. Clarke and I went to the Minster, where Mr. Warneford read prayers and the lessons; after went to Mr. Lamplugh's, where was Mr. Fothergill the surgeon, who began shorthand and paid five guineas, and took it very readily, which the other two did not. We agreed to meet again at the Dean's at eleven o'clock, having concluded that I should stay a day longer, though Dr. Leigh would go to-morrow. We supped at Mr. Clarke's, and Dr. Baker⁽¹⁾ the Chancellor of the Ch. there.

Friday, 27th: rose at eleven; Dr. Leigh just gone when I came down stairs. I went to the Dean, whose man met me, coming for me, it being past the time. I went and found him and Mr. Lamplugh and we had another lecture, but they were pretty slow of apprehending, and wrote but poorly. There came in Mr. Sterne⁽²⁾ the precentor and Captain Robinson; we all dined there, had a sumptuous dish of fish, fowls, mutton, other birds, apple pie, and sat drinking till prayers; Mr. Clarke also at dinner, and two ladies. Met Mr. Warneford in the aisle after prayers, who spoke to me and we walked together, and he talked, and it was very cold, and I said I would call upon him if I got away from them in any time; and Mr. Lamplugh's man came for me to the Minster. I found Mr.

(1) Samuel Baker D.D. succeeded the great Dr. Waterland in the Chancellorship of York in January 1740-41, when he resigned the Prebend of Gevendale, which he held from 1735, and died 9 November 1749.

(2) The Rev. Lawrence Sterne M.A., great grandson of Archbishop Sterne and the author of "Tristram Shandy," &c. He succeeded Dr. Baker in his Prebend 16th January 1740-1, at the age of 27, but resigned it on the 5th January 1741-2 for that of North Newbold, which he held, with the Vicarage of Sutton in the Forest, at his death, in 1768, æt. 55.

Fothergill there, and by-and-by the Dean came; Mr. Fothergill had written the Lord's Prayer, which I corrected for him, and we had another lecture. Mr. Foster, an old scholar, came to us. The Dean left us and wished me a farewell, and I him a good journey, for he was to go to London on Monday; talked about shorthand after, and Mr. Lamplugh would have engaged me the evening, but I said I had a lady and a gentleman to call upon, and he did not urge, and so I came away. To Mr. Warneford's after eight, and Mr. Fothergill and Foster stayed there, and we took leave; gave the man at the door half a crown, and the Dean's man to-day half a crown and the boy that lit me to Mr. Warneford's a shilling; I found him at home in his study and sat with him till past two o'clock the girl said, and he talked away with much alacrity, and we had some roasted apples, and he a mess of milk and I a little ale, and he smoked a pipe. I returned him a book that he had sent me viz. Dell's *Trial of Spirits*,⁽¹⁾ and *Christianity not founded on Argument*, bound together; this last book he thought to be written by one that had been a Deist and had been by some sudden turn converted, that it was admirable, that there were indeed passages — He talked also favourably of Mandeville⁽²⁾ and read some of him about the malefactors receiving regeneration if so and so; he said that Mr. Law was out in his quibbling upon the essence of hope; he mentioned our Saviour's answer to his mother, *Τι ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί*,⁽³⁾ as not being harsh, but — What is it to thee and to me? I told him that I thought it was an Hebraism — What would you have me to do? — or thereabouts; so I mentioned the fig tree, which he had read, that the time of gathering them in, till when travellers might eat them, but agreed that it must have been barren.

(1) "The Tryall of Spirits both in Teachers and Hearers, by William Dell M.A., Master of Gonville and Caius College Cambridge. Lond. 1653," 4to. His Select Works were published in 8vo in London in 1773. He was Chaplain to Cromwell's army, and an Independent or Baptist.

(2) See vol. i. part ii. p. 381, *Note*.

(3) St. John ii. 4.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

York, Saturday five o'clock, Jan. 28th, 1743-4.

Sign of the George.

My dearest love: The post goes out to-night (as I am informed with some certainty, having been misinformed two or three times) towards Lancashire; so before I go to a gentleman who has sent for me to pass the evening with him, I will make sure of writing, to let thee know the progress of our motions since my last.

We set out from Halifax on Saturday noon last, we called to see the Vicar of Burstall, Mr. Hoole's acquaintance, and from thence we went to John Spanaule's, whom we took with us to Beeston, within a mile of Leeds, where Dr. L.[eigh] preached in the morning, and they have no sermon in the afternoon. We paid a visit to Mrs. More, a favourer of the Moravians, whose daughter one Mr. Brown married, where we heard much commendations of them; and we were to drink tea with Mr. Pollard the clergyman of the place on Sunday, where we heard much said against them. John Sp. went home.

On Monday we dined at Leeds, where the Dr. paid Miss Nettleton a visit, and in the afternoon went to Sir William Lowther's, where we were very courteously received, and there we stayed till Wednesday morning, when the Dr. seemed to be much inclined to go to York, which at last we agreed on, and came there Wednesday night; had the company of Mr. Clark to supper, and after of Mr. Warneford⁽¹⁾ a clergyman, Minor Canon I think, a great Behmenite as they call them. On Thursday we breakfasted, dined, and supped at Mr. Clark's; after breakfast Dr. Leigh went out while I stayed at Mr. Clark's, and he came in again and said I must go to the Dean and Mr. Lamplugh, who were waiting to learn shorthand; I went when I saw he was in earnest, and they both were there and began, and I left them an alphabet, &c. I went to Mr. Lamplugh's according to appointment at five, and found there a young surgeon of note here, Mr. Fothergill, who was also entered into shorthand, being at the Dean's when Dr. L. was there in the morning, and having heard

⁽¹⁾ See Note 2, p. 365, ante.

somewhat of it, had that curiosity. The Dean, &c., would have made Dr. L. stay, but he said he had promised Sir William Lowther to be with him on Friday, and he would go, but would leave me behind and come again; in short he went on Friday morning and is now I presume at Halifax, and said to the landlord that he would come again, and talked of Monday to me before. I was at dinner at the Dean's yesterday after our morning's lecture, with Mr. Clark, Lamplugh, Sterne, Captain Robinson, and two ladies; we all sat till prayers and went to the Minster, where I met Mr. Warneford. I went by appointment to Mr. Lamplugh's, where our three brethren met, and where our brother Foster, who was taught at Cambridge, came to us and undertook to supply my absence.

I little thought of seeing York this bout, but so it has happened. I have called on Mrs. Foster, Mr. Brook of Trinity's aunt, and she is ill, and he at Kensington, but expected here soon. It has been a very frosty day, or had thought to have set out, but my horse was not shod; and whether the Dr. will only go to Sir William Lowther's and come to-night, cannot tell, but guess Halifax. I want sadly to hear of thy and thine's health, but comfort myself with hopes of it. As for my clothes, I keep my spatterdashes on, and that saves appearances, or else — but for a traveller it does well enough; only a coat button, the lowest, dropped off last night. The gentleman whom I am going to sit with is Mr. Warneford abovementioned.

I have got some cold, but am very easy with it with care and warmth. The frost I think will give way to a thaw at present, for it is not so cold as it was.

We dined with Lady Margaret⁽¹⁾ at Aberford.

Love and love again to all of you, and write for me to be left at Halifax against I come there. Dearest dear love, Thine.

To Mrs. Elis: Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

⁽¹⁾ The wife of Mr. Ingham the Rector, and daughter of the Earl of Huntington.

Mrs. Ann Hardinge to John Byrom.

Derby, September 14, 1744.

Sir: As I have great faith in all you say, I don't doubt of your remembering and performing your promise to me of spending some time with my Lady Huntingdon. She is now at Dunington, and has exceedingly reproached me that you have not yet been there; therefore for my honour as well as yours I must demand your presence here very soon. You won't think this too great a sacrifice of your time, because I am sure if you either make people happier or better you purchase pleasure for yourself. My Lord Huntingdon stays about a month in the country, and therefore I beg you will let us know immediately when will be the most convenient time for you to come, that Dr. Hardinge may free himself from all other engagements, as this will be more pleasing to him, as well as your most obliged humble servant

ANN HARDINGE.

I have my Lady Huntingdon's commands to write this, and I learn from them that the week after Michaelmas will be as agreeable to them as any, but if it is not so to you, fix your own time.

To Dr. Byrom, at his house
in Manchester.

By the north post.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Derby, Wednesday night, just 'light,

October 3rd, 1744.

Dear love: I am just come to the George posthouse from Ashbourne, whither I came last night from Buxton. Beppy would acquaint thee of our journey so far, and what had happened to us with respect to cousin W. Chaddock. I suppose she set out for Manchester with her uncle Houghton while I was getting my things on to go with W. Chad. to Biggen. I have sent to Dr. Hardinge notice of my arrival; he is gone to the Vale of Belvoir, but expected home every hour; his lady has just sent a second message that she is come home, and expects me to lie there, which I would excuse, but wait on her when I have writ to thee; my landlord is smoking his

pipe by me, and would have me let him direct the letter, which I have consented to, and must finish it with desiring to hear from thee, directed to the George. I have, I hope, recovered the fatigue of Buxton by a good night's rest at Ashbourne. I hope Beppy and Mr. Houghton had as good a day home as we had to ride in. My dear love, I hope for all your healths, and am myself very hearty at present. With love and service to all friends,

Thine and thine again — J. BYROM.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Donington Park, Monday, [October 8] 1744.

My dear love: I have just received thy letter written on Friday, and the news which I was so much afraid of hearing, that coz Chad was worse. I thought when we left Buxton to have bid Beppy consult amongst you whether to send the doctor from Manchester to see him, but I did not see her at our parting, nor know but that his mother might prefer some assistance nearer to any advice so far off. Thou dost not mention any particulars about his present condition from John Ball; I should have been glad to hear that he was better; by John Ball's errand I guess that he is very ill; I should rejoice if Dr. M. has hopes of him.

My dear, I began this just before dinner came in, am now going to bed; it has been rainy weather at Derby, where I came on Wednesday and wrote thence to thee, and on Saturday Dr. Hardinge and I rode hither, and passed the Trent just under the park in a boat, and sent our horses round by Swarston bridge. Here is no company but two ladies, Mrs. Edwin⁽¹⁾ and Mrs. Bartlet, and this morning the coach went for the Doctor's lady, who is afraid of riding on horseback. We are very freely and courteously entertained, and you may guess at our conversation; Mrs. Edwin is a fine singer, has just been singing some hymns to us. Lady Huntingdon has had a letter this morning from Mr. Wesley, with the

(¹) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Bradshaigh of Haigh near Wigan, Bart., M.P., and wife of John Edwin Esq. son of Sir Humphrey Edwin. She was the immediate ancestress of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.

case of John Nelson⁽¹⁾ enclosed, written by Nelson himself, who is released by an order from Lord Stair at Lady Huntingdon's request, but she had not heard of Mr. Okenhausen. I fancy we shall stay a day or two longer, and then I hope I shall have despatched my visit, which, if our poor cousin had been better, would be very agreeable. As for Miss Fanny Lever, of whom you enquire, we thought it best not to hinder our journey because of his misfortune, so she set out for Rolleston on Tuesday morning, where it seems I was expected to come with her, for my landlord at Derby told me that Mr. Moseley had been at his house and said so. I thank thee for writing, and desire another letter, which I may receive before I leave Derbyshire. I must send this letter to Dr. H's. chamber for his man to take in the morning; so I wish thee good night, with my dearest love and service to you all, and hearty desire of success to Dr. M. at Biggen. Dearest love, thine — J. B.

Lord Huntingdon is gone to bed, that should have franked.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Matlock Bath, Wednesday night, 17th October 1744.

My dear love: A man going to Chesterfield, where the post goes to Lancashire to-morrow, I write a line to let thee know that I am here from Derby this afternoon. Dr. Harding was to go to Chatsworth, so I came this way, and thought, upon a letter from thee which I found at Dr. H's. on Monday when we came from Lord Huntingdon's, that it might be as well. We are just going to supper, so I would not miss the opportunity of writing. Mr. Charles Wesley has been at Donnington, which occasioned our stay a day or two longer. I don't know whether I shan't see the Duke of Devonshire with Dr. H., but shall be glad to be at home as soon as may be, but to-morrow must determine. Supper is gone up, so good night, my dearest love and children; God bless you all in health and happiness, with yours affectionately — J. BYROM.

⁽¹⁾ John Nelson was an early Yorkshire convert of Mr. Wesley, and became one of his most zealous followers. His life is full of marvels: he was impressed as a private soldier whilst preaching, but was released by F. M. John Earl of Stair, K. T., Commander of the Forces, through the influence of Lady Huntingdon.

[The following Journal, found amongst the papers at Kersall Cell, was written by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Dr. Byrom, born January 1st 1721-2, died at Kersall Cell, unmarried, December 2nd 1801, aged 79.]

1745.

August 14th: went with my brother to Preston; we went through Wigan and Chorley; went the next day to Kirkham, stayed there till the Tuesday following; on the Monday we went to Lytham and Blackpool, ten mile off Kirkham, for a ride by the sea side; and the next day went to Liverpool with Mrs. Roughsedge,⁽¹⁾ in the chair, dined at Ormschurch; on Friday rode to see Miss Greens⁽²⁾ at Childa,⁽³⁾ they were gone to Lord Mullinax's [Molyneux], so we rode round Childa hills, the pleasantest prospect I ever saw, and then rode to see Outon, Lady Molineaux's,⁽⁴⁾ where my papa was a fortnight with Mr. Carryl.⁽⁵⁾ On Monday the 16th of September my papa, mamma, brother and sister, came for me home; set out on Thursday to come home, lay that night at Byrom, came home next day, great talk of the Pretender coming.

Thursday [September] 26th: the gentlemen are gone to subscribe at Preston; news is come that the rebels have beat Sir John Cope

(1) Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. — Hankinson of Kirkham, married Edward Roughsedge Esq. whose only son, the Rev. Robert Hankinson Roughsedge M.A., sometime Curate of Bury, was afterwards Rector of Liverpool, and ob. 1829. The Roughsedges were connected with the Byroms through the Allens of Redivales.

(2) The daughters and coheiresses of Isaac Green, the wealthy Prescot Attorney, who had married the coheiress of the knightly family of Ireland of Hale. Of these ladies, Mary married Bamber Gascoigne Esq. M.P. (whose descendant and representative married in 1821 the Marquess of Salisbury, the owner, *jure uxoris*, of Childwall Castle), and Ireland married Thomas Blackburne of Orford Hall Esq. Sheriff of Lancashire in 1763.

(3) Childwall.

(4) Lady Molyneux was Mary, daughter of Francis Lord Brudenell, and the dowager of Richard fifth Viscount Maryborough, who ob. in 1738 without issue male. She appears to have lived at Hooton.

(5) Caryll, sixth Viscount Maryborough, ob. November 1745.

on the 21st. The 8th of October, my uncle Houghton's birthday, went to Baguley⁽¹⁾ with cousin Brearcliffe, Mr. Cattell, Mr. Thyer, Mr. Greaves, Mr. Egerton, my papa and mamma, stayed two nights; everybody in hiding for fear of the rebels; two regiments gone through this town; Mr. Hoole,⁽²⁾ Mr. Nichols,⁽³⁾ Mr. Lewthwaite⁽⁴⁾ preached against rebellion, my papa and uncle Houghton wrote after the last, and he left off before he had half done, but they came again the Sunday after and wrote, but he had made his sermon over again. I bought a blue and white gown off Mr. Starkey, gave 12s. for it. The Presbyterians are sending everything that's valuable away, wives, children, and all, for fear of the rebels.

November 12th: yesterday was at the concert, but two Presbyterians; my uncle and aunt Houghton gone to Kilshaw⁽⁵⁾ to pay a visit; Dr. Mainwaring goes about frightening folks, viz. my uncle and aunt Ann; my papa is gone to Mr. Walley's, he is constable⁽⁶⁾; an express [has] come that the rebels are coming, and another that they are

⁽¹⁾ Baguley in Cheshire was the seat of John Houghton Esq. who married first Mary, daughter of Joseph Byrom of Byrom and of the Cross (otherwise Hyde's Cross) in Manchester Esq. by whom he had three daughters, who died unmarried. See Byrom pedigree.

⁽²⁾ Mr. Hoole the Rector of St. Ann's was strongly inclined to Nonjuring principles, although his Curates held opposite opinions. See vol. i. part ii. p. 519, *Note*. He died suddenly six weeks from this date. His son Joseph Hoole was admitted on the foundation of Manchester School August 8th 1737.

⁽³⁾ The Rev. Benjamin Nichols M.A. Chaplain to the Earl of Uxbridge, and Assistant Curate of St. Ann's, Manchester, published two sermons on the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746, which were extremely popular with the whig party.

⁽⁴⁾ The Rev. Thomas Lewthwaite was apparently also Assistant Curate of St. Ann's, and may be the same person, or his father, who was the first Incumbent of Friarmere in Saddleworth in 1768. He was probably connected with the respectable family of Lewthwaite of Broad Gate in the county of Cumberland.

⁽⁵⁾ To Culcheth Hall, the seat of Mr. Greaves, mentioned above.

⁽⁶⁾ The Constables for this year were Thomas Walley and William Fowden. The original Book of Accounts of the Constables of Manchester from 1743 to 1776, a very curious and interesting record, from which some extracts will be given, with another book which continues them to a subsequent period, is now in the possession of the President of the Chetham Society, having had a very narrow escape from the grocer's hands before it was deposited in his collection.

not, and so on. The 14th,⁽¹⁾ my Lord Derby is come to town to have the militia put in readiness, they are all quartered in town. The 16th, an express is come to him that Carlisle is surrendered to the rebels, and the next day the Castle. General Wade is gone to the relief of it, but went but two days' march and turned again; they were two days without any provisions. Captain Barlow has writ a most dismal account of them, that they are so numbed with cold that their limbs mortify and they die very fast. The rebels are come forward, G[eneral] Wade is turned again to Newcastle.

November 25th: an express that they are at Lan[caster]; this day there are men pulling up Warrington bridge. A letter from Penrith says the rebels are but 7000 men, but other accounts say they are 25,000 or 30,000. D[orothy] Brearcliffe and I have been at Baguley to-day. My Lord Warrington⁽²⁾ has sent 25,000 [ounces?] of plate away; they have set the House of Correction doors open here to save the P[rince] a labour.

26th: they are at Preston this morning, came in there at ten o'clock, behaved very civilly; everybody is going out of town and sending all their effects away, there is hardly any family left but ours and our kin; they have sent their shops and shut up shop, and all

(¹) 14th November 1745. Tending Deputy Lieutenants all this day, three companies foot and one troop of horse militia came in, and to Cottrell and Ashton for errands, &c.....	00 . 04 . 03
15th. Tending Deputy Lieutenant all this day, two companies more of Blackburn militia came in	00 . 02 . 09
19th. Expenses this day, two companies more of militia came in	00 . 01 . 00
21st. Paid Ann Clegg for cockades for Manchester militia per receipt	00 . 04 . 00
25th. Paid bellman for crying against bedding being removed out of town	00 . 01 . 00
26th. Repaid Mr. Walley sundry expenses at old Coffeehouse, Bull's Head, and Angel	01 . 06 . 00
26th. Repaid Mr. Fowden, do. at meetings to consider what was best to be done ...	01 . 06 . 00

Constables' Accounts.

(²) George Booth, second and last Earl of Warrington of that line, ob. 2nd August 1758, when his estates passed to his only child, Mary Countess of Stamford, whose son Henry was created in 1796 Earl of Warrington and Baron Delamere.

the warehouses in town almost are empty; to-night the bellman is going about to forbid anybody sending provision out of town, for a great many have to-day; Dr. Mainwaring⁽¹⁾ says the rebels have done nothing but what a rabble without a head might have done.⁽²⁾

They have pulled up Stockport bridge and Barton bridge, and we expect every minute they will begin at Salford bridge (they have begun at Cross street), if they do, some folks say they will set the fire bells of ringing to raise a mob to stop them. Last Sunday Mr. Lewthwaite preached, and his text was, "He that has no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one;" about a fortnight since his text was, "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" I have been laughing at him to-night about it.⁽³⁾

27th: the postmaster is gone to London to-day, we suppose to secure the money from falling into the hands of the rebels; we expect a party of them here to-morrow. The P[rince] lay at Lawyer Starkie's⁽⁴⁾ at Preston last night; he has marched from Carlisle on foot at the head of his army; he was dressed in a Scotch plaid, a blue silk waistcoat with silver lace, and a Scotch bonnet with J. R. on it.⁽⁵⁾

⁽¹⁾ See vol. i. part i. p. 318, Note 3.

⁽²⁾ Many details connected with Prince Charles's stay in Manchester will be found in Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Foundations of Manchester*, vol. ii. pp. 97-112. Some anecdotes will also be met with in a small publication deserving of notice, the *Gorton Historical Register*, pp. 90-94.

⁽³⁾ Mr. Lewthwaite and that important functionary the bellman appear to have descanted on very different texts with equal facility.

⁽⁴⁾ Edmund Starkie Esq. son and heir of Nicholas Starkie, second son of John Starkie of Huntroyd Esq. He was a barrister at law of the Middle Temple, and represented Preston in parliament from 1754 to 1768. Dying unmarried at Richmond in Surrey, 12th August 1773, his property passed to his nephew Mr. Starkie of Huntroyd.

⁽⁵⁾ He is described on his entry into Manchester as attired in a light plaid and blue sash and as wearing a gray wig with a blue bonnet and a white rose in it. Many portraits of him, taken at this time, some of which are evidently copies, still remain in Manchester and the neighbourhood. The President of the Chetham Society has two which formed part of the household gods of two old ladies, who were determined Jacobites to their dying day.

My aunt Ann is gone to Dr. Dunster's,⁽¹⁾ and Mrs. Mainwaring; Mr. Hoole is dead. To-night there's not above four women hardly left in the Square. Mr. H. Godhard is left in Mrs. Wilson's house; I just called there. Mr. W. Blackburn⁽²⁾ and coz Wright drank tea here this afternoon.

Yesterday the militia was all discharged and sent home, but just in time before the Highlanders come, — well contrived. ⁽³⁾

Thursday 28th: about three o'clock to-day came into town two men in Highland dress, and a woman behind one of them with a drum on her knee,⁽⁴⁾ and for all the loyal work that our Presbyterians have made, they took possession of the town as one may say,⁽⁵⁾ for immediately after they were 'light they beat up for volunteers for P.C.:

⁽¹⁾ See vol. i. part ii. p. 537, *Note*.

⁽²⁾ Fourth son of John Blackburne of Orford Esq. by his wife Catherine, daughter and coheiress of the Rev. William Assheton, Rector of Prestwich. He afterwards lived at Leeds. Through his mother's family he was a relative of the Kersall Byroms.

⁽³⁾ Well contrived indeed. It was just so at Carlisle. The country gentlemen were very valiant *before* the arrival of the rebels, but as soon as they heard of their approach they petitioned to be disbanded on the plea of fatigue; and disbanded they were, being clearly useless. See "Carlisle in 1745."

⁽⁴⁾ Sergeant Dickson, a young Scotsman as brave and intrepid as a lion, along with his mistress and a drummer, quitted Preston on the evening of the 27th and proceeded on foot to Manchester. — Chev. de Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 64.

⁽⁵⁾ "Manchester was taken by a serjeant, a drum, and a woman, who rode to the market cross on horses with hempen halters on, where they proclaimed their King, beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty." — Ray's *History of the Rebellion*, (Manchester, 12mo,) p. 156. In Lord Mahon's, now Earl Stanhope's, *History* the two following letters of secret intelligence from Manchester to the Duke are given: — "The first is dated the 28th of November. 'Just now are come in two of the Pretender's men, a serjeant, a drummer, and a woman with them. I have seen them. The serjeant is a Scotchman, the drummer is a Halifax man, and they are now going to beat up. These two men and the woman, without any others, came into the town amidst thousands of spectators. I doubt not but we shall have more to-night. They say we are to have the Pretender to-morrow. They are dressed in plaids and bonnets. The serjeant has a target!' The letter of next day (November 29) is as follows: — 'The two Highlanders who came in yesterday and beat up for volunteers for him they called His Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Wales, offered five guineas advance; many took on; each received one shilling, to have the rest when the Prince came. They do not appear to be such terrible fellows as has been

"All gentlemen that have a mind to serve H[is] R[oyal] H[ighness] P[rin]ce C[harles] with a willing mind, &c., five guineas advance," and nobody offered to meddle with them. They were directly joined by Mr. J. Bradshaw,⁽¹⁾ Tom Sydall,⁽²⁾ Mr. Tom Deacon,⁽³⁾

represented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures, but many clever men among them. The guards and officers are all in a Highland dress, a long sword, and stuck with pistols; their horses all sizes and colours. The bellman went to order all persons charged with excise, and innkeepers, forthwith to appear, and bring their last acquittance, and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. It is my opinion they will make all haste possible through Derbyshire, to evade fighting Ligonier. I do not see that we have any person in town to give intelligence to the King's forces, as all our men of fashion are fled, and all officers under the government. A party came in at ten this morning, and have been examining the best houses, and fixed upon Mr. Dicconson's for the Prince's quarters. Several thousands came in at two o'clock; they ordered the bells to ring; and the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to-night, which must be done. The Chevalier marched by my door in a Highland dress, on foot, at three o'clock, surrounded by a Highland guard; no music but a pair of bagpipes. Those that came in last night demanded quarters for 10,000 to-day." — *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 267-8, edit. 1853.

⁽¹⁾ Mr. James Bradshaw is said to have been a barber, and is the "Ensign William Bradshaw of Lancashire" mentioned in the *Gazette*. It is certain that he was descended from the Bradshaws of Darcy Lever, and it is probable that his father Jeremy Bradshaw was first cousin of John Bradshaw Esq. the High Sheriff in 1753. This young man was visited, when a prisoner in Newgate, by his sister Miss Bradshaw and by his cousin Mrs. Ann Townley (buried in the Derby Chapel in the Collegiate Church April 30th 1796, æt. 79), and was executed on Kennington Common November 28th 1746. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxi. p. 503. Of Mrs. Townley Dr. Ormerod has kindly supplied the editor with an anecdote, which is too interesting to be omitted. "I remember," says he, "Mrs. Townley on the verge of eighty, seated by her fireside in fatuous dotage, grasping, as an amulet or holy thing, a crown piece of James II. She only suffered it to be removed when she was dressing, retaining habitually the deeply rooted political feeling which had survived all recollection of what it sprung from. This continued until her death, for she died grasping it. The impression was worn from the coin, and a hardened furrow indented in the palm of her hand was cut deeply into by the nails of the curved fingers."

⁽²⁾ Thomas Sydall's father took part in the rebellion of 1715, and was executed at Manchester in 1716. The son, who was a barber, shared the same hard fate in 1746, having been an "Adjutant" in the "Manchester Regiment."

⁽³⁾ Thomas Theodorus Deacon. See vol. ii. part i. p. 276, *Note 2*. The sad catastrophe which closed the career of the two last gallant and unfortunate recruits

Mr. Fletcher,⁽¹⁾ Tom Chaddock,⁽²⁾ and several others have listed, above eighty men by eight o'clock, when my papa came down to tell us there was a party of horse come in; he took care of me to the Cross, where I saw them all; it is a very fine moonlight night; Mr. Walley, Mr. Foden, and Deputy billeted them. They are my Lord Pitsligo's⁽³⁾ Horse, and Hugh Sterling, that was 'prentice at Mr. Hibbert's, is with them, and the streets are exceeding quiet, there is not one person to be seen nor heard. One of the Highlanders that came to-day is a Yorkshireman, and is gone to-night to see his sister that lives at Sleat Hall⁽⁴⁾; he took his drawn sword in his hand and went by himself. My papa and my uncle are gone to

is noticed in the following entry in the accounts of the Constables of Manchester:—

1746. Sept. 18. Expenses tending the sheriff this morn, Syddal's
and Deacon's heads put up..... 00 . 01 . 06

(¹) George Fletcher is styled "a checkman and linen draper" in Salford, was appointed a Captain in Colonel Towneley's "Manchester Regiment," and was executed in 1746.

(²) In all the reports of the Rebellion this young man is called Chadwick, "a chandler's son," and "of Staffordshire," but this was doubtless his correct patronymic. He was appointed a Lieutenant, and paid, like his companions, the same penalty for his chivalrous devotion. It is noticeable that the young lady omits the names of her two relatives Captain James Dawson and Lieutenant John Beswicke, both of whom enlisted, were taken prisoners at Carlisle by the Duke of Cumberland, and executed on Kennington Common.

(³) Lord Pitsligo, who drew after him such a number of gentlemen (one hundred and fifty on horseback), had only a moderate fortune, says Mr. Horne; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment and of a wary and cautious temper; so that when he, who was deemed so wise and prudent, declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the gentlemen in that part of the country where he lived, who favoured the Pretender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking that they could not follow a better or a safer guide than Lord Pitsligo. Dr. King says he was universally beloved, and persuaded himself that he had not an enemy in the world. He held the situation in the rebel army ascribed in *Waverley* to the Baron of Bradwardine. The Barony of Forbes of Pitsligo, granted 1633, was forfeited in 1746.

(⁴) Slade Hall, generally called Slate Hall, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles south east of Manchester, has been in the possession of the Syddall family since the 19th Elizabeth (1576.) See *Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part i. p. 69, Note 15.

consult with Mr. Croxton, Mr. Feilden,⁽¹⁾ and others, how to keep themselves out of any scrape, and yet behave civilly. All the justices fled and lawyers too but coz Clowes.⁽²⁾

Friday 29th: they are beating up for the P.; eleven o'clock we went up to the Cross to see the rest come in; there came small parties of them till about three o'clock, when the P. and the main body of them came, I cannot guess how many. The P. went straight up to Mr. Dickenson's,⁽³⁾ where he lodges, the Duke of Athol⁽⁴⁾ at Mr. Marsden's,⁽⁵⁾ the Duke of Perth⁽⁶⁾ at Gartside's.⁽⁷⁾ There came an officer up to us at Cross and gave us the manifesto and declarations; the bells they rung, and P. Cotterel made a bonfire, and all the town

(1) John Feilden Esq. the Boroughreeve, 1745.

(2) Joseph Clowes Esq. father of the late venerable Rector of St. John's in Manchester. He has frequently occurred in the early part of Byrom's *Remains*.

(3) John Dickenson of Market Street Lane Esq. whose house, from the circumstance here named, was called "The Palace" until it was pulled down a few years ago. He also was the owner of Birch Hall.

(4) James, second Duke of Atholl, K.T., Colonel of the 3rd Foot Guards, ob. 1764 without issue male, and his only surviving daughter married her cousin, who succeeded to the Dukedom.

(5) James, son and heir of Thomas Marsden of Market Street, Manchester (where he had a fine house and gardens, which appear on the old map of Manchester in the first half of the last century), by his wife, Miss Lever of Little Lever. Mr. James Marsden was buried at St. Ann's in Manchester, but his ancestors lie buried in the chancel of Bolton Church. His daughter married Henshaw Thorneycroft of Thorneycroft in the county of Chester Esq.

(6) James Lord Drummond, third Duke of Perth, was the only friend of the Prince who seconded this rash view of repairing to Scotland in 1745, and though brave even to excess, every way honourable, and possessed of a mild and gentle disposition, the Duke was of very limited abilities, and interfered with nothing. — Johnstone's *Mem.* Introduction, pp. xxxiv., liii. The Duke was wounded at Culloden, and died unmarried whilst on his passage to France 13th May 1746. He was attainted along with his brother Lord John Drummond, nor was the act reversed until 1785; and on the 28th June 1853, the Queen specially commanded the restoration of the Earldom of Perth (1605) and other ancient titles to George Drummond Duke of Melfort in the peerage of France, the present representative of this ancient and distinguished family.

(7) Robert Gartside Esq., who married in 1740 Alice, daughter of Samuel Hamer of Hamer near Rochdale Esq. by whom she had a son and heir, John Gartside Esq. She afterwards married Robert Hyde of Ardwick Esq. and was living his widow in 1783.

was illuminated, every house except Mr. Dickenson's, my papa, mamma and sister, and my uncle and I walked up and down to see it; about four o'clock the King was proclaimed, the mob shouted very cleverly, and then we went up to see my aunt Brearcliffe and stayed till eleven o'clock making St. Andrew's crosses for them; we sat up making till two o'clock. Miss Vigor lies here.

Saturday 30th: St. Andrew's day; more crosses making till twelve o'clock; then I dressed me up in my white gown⁽¹⁾ and went up to my aunt Brearcliffe's, and an officer called on us to go see the Prince, we went to Mr. Fletcher's and saw him get a-horseback, and a noble sight it is, I would not have missed it for a great deal of money; his horse had stood an hour in the court without stirring, and as soon as he gat on he began a-dancing and capering as if he was proud of the burden, and when he rid out of the court he was received with as much joy and shouting almost as if he had been king without any dispute, indeed I think scarce anybody that saw him could dispute it.⁽²⁾ As soon as he was gone the officer and us went to prayers at the old church at two o'clock by their orders, or else there has been none since they came. Mr. Shrigley⁽³⁾ read prayers, he prayed for the King and the Prince of Wales and named no names. Then we all called at our house and eat a queen cake, and a glass of wine, for we gat no dinner; then the officer went with us all to the Camp Field to see the artillery⁽⁴⁾; called at my uncle's and then

⁽¹⁾ It is quite clear that this young lady was a sad Jacobite.

⁽²⁾ How delightful is the fair diarist's unsophisticated enthusiasm! If the Lancashire witches could have carried the day for Prince Charles, his success would indeed have been certain.

⁽³⁾ See vol. i. part i. p. 78, *Note*. This is said by Dr. Hibbert Ware to have been done by Mr. Clayton, vol. ii. p. 94.

⁽⁴⁾ 30th. Paid sundry labourers forced by the rebels into theirartil-

lery park 01 . 03 . 02

30th. Paid sundry labourers forced by the rebels to Crosford

Bridge 01 . 02 . 06

Const. Accounts.

Prince Charles's proclamation to the inhabitants of Manchester may here be given: —
"Manchester, Nov. 30, 1745. His Royal Highness being informed that several bridges had been pulled down in this county, he has given orders to repair them

went up to Mr. Fletcher's, stayed there till the Prince was at supper, then the officer introduced us into the room, stayed a while and then went into the great parlour where the officers were dining, sat by Mrs. Stark[ey]; they were all exceeding civil and almost made us fuddled with drinking the P. health, for we had had no dinner; we sat there till Secretary Murray⁽¹⁾ came to let us know that the P. was at leisure and had done supper, so we were all introduced and had the honour to kiss his hand; my papa was fetched prisoner to do the same, as was Dr. Deacon⁽²⁾; Mr. Cattell and Mr. Clayton did it without; the latter said grace for him; then we went out and drank his health in the other room, and so to Mr. Fletcher's, where my mamma waited for us (my uncle was gone to pay his land-tax), and then went home.

December 1st: about six o'clock the P. and the foot set out, went up Market Street Lane and over Cheadle ford⁽³⁾; the horse was gather-

forthwith, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though his Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it! C. P. R." — Chambers's *History*, vol. i. p. 271.

(1) Lord George Murray was son of John Duke of Atholl, and brother of William Marquess of Tullibardin who had been attainted in 1715, and, being in the rebellion of 1745, was imprisoned and died in the Tower unmarried. Lord George became Lieutenant General of the Pretender's army in 1745, formed the plans of the battles and directed all the military movements which were attended with success. It is well known that whenever the Prince interfered he did mischief, and had he allowed Lord George to conduct the expedition the result would have been very different. Lord George was attainted and escaped to Holland, where he died in 1760. His son became the third Duke of Atholl.

(2) An artist, especially if he had any portion of ancient enthusiasm in his composition, need seek for no better subject for a grand Historical Picture than the group here assembled. It happens, too, that portraits exist of most of the parties. The Prince, Byrom, Deacon, Cattell, Clayton, and Beppy herself, (how lovely she must have looked in her white dress, and her St. Andrew's cross!) are all in existence, delineated to the life, in Kersall Cell. One sees the sharp eye of Deacon, and the tall benignant form of Byrom pouring secret but hearty blessings on the head of the young Adventurer. Has Manchester no artist that will try, for once, to be original?

(3) It was here that the striking incident occurred which Earl Stanhope has narrated so well from the relation of the late Lord Keith: — "On the opposite bank of

ing together all forenoon ; we went up to the Cross to see them, and then to Mr. Starkey's, they were all drawn up in the Square and went off in companies, Lord Elcho's⁽¹⁾ horse went past Baguley. We have no service in the church to-day, for they keep going out all day. My uncle dined with us. About four o'clock aunt Phebe came down ill frightened and said that they were coming again, for that the King's forces had met them ; it proved only a party of them was come back for some of the subscription money. Four men called from Baguley, they say the P. is not gone past there ; I writ to tell 'em we were all alive and well. Mr. Lewthwaite supped with us ; he has been with Sir William Dunbar, who gives him the finest character of the P., that he's almost in love with him ; he says when they were about to take the Castle of Edinburgh there came an order from King George to the government to fire the town, upon which the P. ordered his men to desist and said he would not have the town

the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old cavalier, had afterwards to undergo, not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch ; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the Royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another Restoration. Ever afterwards she had with rigid punctuality laid aside one half of her yearly income to remit for the exiled family abroad ; concealing only the name of the giver, which, she said, was of no importance to them, and might give them pain if they remembered the unkind treatment she had formerly received : she had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed ; the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eyes to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, 'Lord ! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace !' It is added that she did not survive the shock when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat. Such, even when misdirected in its object, or exaggerated in its force, was the old spirit of loyalty in England !" — *History of England*, vol. iii. pp. 269–70, edit. 1853.

(¹) David Lord Elcho was eldest son of James fourth Earl of Wemyss. After the battle of Culloden he fled into France, and being attainted, did not succeed to the honours on the death of his father in 1756 ; but at his death without issue in 1787, they were revived and inherited by his brother Francis, ancestor of the present and eighth Earl.

destroyed. Sir William said to his men, "Faith, lads, this is Solomon's decision; ye may see who's the mother of the child."

Sunday: this morning, although Sunday, the drums beat up for volunteers for his M. K. J. My aunt Brearcliffe, my aunt Betty, nor us have had any to lodge, and my uncle had but two by chance, because of the artillery being there.

Monday 2nd⁽¹⁾: prayers as usual; a Presbyterian has taken up a poor Highlander that was left. My uncle Houghton is come to see us; he has got Mr. Tatton and Mr. Oldfield⁽²⁾ at his house to stay a week or so, because they had a mind to be altogether. Mr. Cattell and aunt Brearcliffe drank tea here. The north post is come in, and the boy told it as he came up that G[eneral or Marshal] Wade was at Rochdale, which gathered a mob together, and by degrees they increased till they were got a little frightful, and went up and down town shouting and threatening to pull down the houses of them that are gone with them; papa went amongst them and several gentlemen, but they have broke Dr. Deacon's lamp and windows.⁽³⁾ The next night a great many gentlemen met, and are to walk the streets to keep quiet, and so for six nights together.

- (1) Decr. 2. To John Shaw [no doubt the Manchester publican of famous memory] for going to Leeds, Bradford, &c., with an express to inform General Wade of the time the rebels left this place, their number, &c..... 01 . 11 . 06
Paid Isaac Grantham for horse-hire and sons riding with several expresses 00 . 08 . 00

Const. Accounts.

(2) Humphrey Oldfield Esq. son of Mr. Oldfield by his wife —, the sister and heiress of Humphrey Booth of Salford (ob. s.p. 1695), and granddaughter of Humphrey Booth, merchant, who married Ann, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats Esq., nephew of Sir Nicholas Mosley. This lady in her widowhood married the Rev. Thomas Case M.A. one of the Assembly of Divines. The individual mentioned in the text married Elizabeth, younger daughter of Captain John Wagstaff of Manchester (ob. 1712) by his wife Silence (ob. 1723), daughter of the Rev. Charles Beswicke M.A. Rector of Radcliffe. All these names (with one exception) recal to mind the great benefactors of Manchester and Salford.

(3) The Doctor's house was in Fennel Street, adjoining the inn now known as "the Dog and Partridge."

Saturday 7th⁽¹⁾: great talk of the Highlanders coming again; a man come from Leek says they are come in there; been to see my aunt Ann, she is come home about eleven o'clock; a great hurry, they say there's one come into town, they ran after him, have got his horse but he has got away; they are for raising a mob to stop them, they are ringing the fire bell as hard as they can, great hurries⁽²⁾ in the street.

Sunday 8th: our folks gone to church, but I am going to my aunt Ann, she is ill, keeps her bed; the bellman is going by order of Dr. Mainwaring and Justice Bradshaw,⁽³⁾ "This is to give notice to all the inhabitants of this town that they are desired to rise and arm themselves with guns, swords, pickaxes, shovels, or any other weapons they can get, and go stop all the ends of the town to prevent the rebels from coming in for two hours, and the King's forces will be up with them," and I met the Dr. on horseback in the midst of the mob encouraging them much and promising them to send all the country in as he went (for he ran his way as soon as he had done), and accordingly he did, for all the country folks came armed with scythes, sickles, &c. of the ends of mop sticks, and all other kind of weapons and made a very great hurry all day. Mr. Walley went to Smedley, but Mr. Chetham⁽⁴⁾ was gone, so Mr. Booth⁽⁵⁾ and he sent the bellman to quell the mob again: "Whereas a tumul-

- (¹) 7th. Paid Mr. Smith sundry charges of pulling up Crosford bridge to retard the retreat of the rebels, per order of Jas. Chetham Esq. 01 . 14 . 00
To Timo. Eaton for horse and himself going towards Macclesfield, &c., to reconnoitre the rebels on their retreat 00 . 04 . 00

(²) Commotions. *Const. Accounts.*

(³) Mr. Bradshaw's Manchester house was in Shudehill, near Bradshaw-Gates. He appears to have resided little at Darcy Lever. See vol. i. part ii. p. 325, *Note 1*.

(⁴) See vol. i. part i. p. 50, *Note 3*.

(⁵) Robert Booth Esq. second son of Robert Booth of Greengate in Salford Esq. and heir at law and devisee of his elder brother Humphrey Booth of Salford Esq. being the descendants of Humphrey Booth of Salford Gent. who built and endowed Holy Trinity Church, Salford. Mr. Booth devised his large estates to his cousin John Gore, second son of Nathaniel Gore Esq. by his wife Lettice, daughter and heiress of Humphrey Booth of Dublin Esq. who thereupon assumed the surname

tuous mob has been raised, &c., this is to desire that all the country folks will go to their own homes, and that everybody will lay down their arms and be quiet," and so a great many did, but one part went to Cheadle ford, headed by old Mr. Hilton,⁽¹⁾ with a design to cut it up as the Dr. desired, but by nine o'clock they returned from their fruitless expedition, and Mr. H. gat out of the way.

A paper was read in several churches the same as the bellman said.

Monday 9th⁽²⁾: went up to my aunt's; continual accounts of the Highlanders coming; about two o'clock they brought us word that a party of them was come in, and some people had slouched 'em and thrown stones, and so it proved; but the Highlanders told them, if they did not give over they must fire amongst them, so they gave over. I came home from my uncle's and met all the artillery going up and all the army coming in, and everybody went to their old quarters; the officers walked up and down the streets to send people to their own houses, and then the bellman went, "By order of his R. H. C. P. W. and so forth, I give notice to all persons," that he orders no two persons be seen walking together in the streets at after nine o'clock to-night, except they be guarded by some of H. R. H. own troops, on pain of being deemed mobbers and rioters, and by them be punished as such; so we are quiet to-night. My Lord Pitsligo has sent for my papa to Mr. Sedgwick's.⁽³⁾ A party has been at Dr. Mainwaring's and Mr. Hilton's, and I believe has been a little rough.

of Booth, and at his death, unmarried, in 1789, his estate passed to his nephew Sir Booth Gore, whose father had been created a Baronet of Ireland in 1760. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 547.

⁽¹⁾ Mr. Hilton of Manchester in 1726 purchased Pennington Hall for £4550, which passed to his son James Hilton Esq. who married Mary, daughter of Samuel Clowes of Smedley and Chaddock Hall Esq.

⁽²⁾ 9th. Paid watchmen at Red Bank and Newton Lane, set to prevent mob coming into town 00 . 05 . 00
Paid John Hulme at Seven Stars for horses with expresses 00 . 05 . 06
Const. Accounts.

⁽³⁾ Roger Sedgwick Gent. Boroughreeve in 1740, afterwards a banker in Manchester with Mr. Allen. His father Roger Sedgwick Gent. was a benefactor to the poor of Manchester by will in 1733.

Tuesday 10th: they have ordered a contribution of £5,000⁽¹⁾ for the insolence of the mob, but with much ado they have got it to one half, to raise it by one o'clock; they took old Mr. Bailey⁽²⁾ prisoner,

(¹) Mr. Ormerod has in his possession the long list of subscribers to the contribution here alluded to, levied by "the Pretender." On settling the accounts for those contributions raised in December 1745, it appears that there was —

	£.	s.	d.
"Cash paid the Rebels when here	2504	13	0
Payments for collectors	4	4	0
To Lawyer Chetham for his advice.....	1	1	0
To Mr. Chr. Byrom for attending him	0	6	0
	2510	3	0
To cash returned Mr. Edward Byrom by the hands of John Dickinson	3	8	0
	£2513	11	0"

Amongst the subscribers to this list are — Mr. Edward Byrom £180, Mr. Edward Byrom for himself, Dr. Byrom, and sisters £50, Mr. Edward Byrom "part of the money in his hands left for a stock for y^e rights of y^e town, £550." The *returned* £3 8s. must regard this latter contribution.

The original list of loyalist subscriptions, being an agreement on parchment duly stamped and having autograph signatures, is also preserved in Mr. Ormerod's library at Sedbury Park. The sums were collected on and after September 26th 1745, by John Hardman of Liverpool and another; John Haworth and Thomas Johnson both of Manchester, merchants; Thomas Butterfield of Lancaster, merchant; and William Shaw of Preston, attorney at law, in order to place funds at the disposal of the Earl of Derby, the Lord Lieutenant of the county, to be employed in raising troops to oppose "the rebels," then advancing. The sum raised amounted to £1,966 3s., and was subscribed entirely by those who resided at or near Manchester, this being probably the Manchester list. Amongst the principal Hanoverian adherents and subscribers were — James Chetham £200, Gamaliel Lloyd £50, Robert Birch £40, Edward Chetham £100, Richard Taylor £40, John Diggles £40, Samuel Aiton £40, Sam. Clowes and Bro'r W^m £40, Patten and Feilden £40, Chr. Byrom £40, Sam^l Peploe £50, John Chadwick £40, Daniel Walker £50, Joshua Marriott £40, R. Sedgwick £30, Joseph Allen £20, Miles Bower and son £20, Edward Graves £10, &c.

(²) James Bayley senior was himself a whig, and one of the principal merchants in Manchester, where his father Daniel and his grandfather had resided before him in a large corner house at the top of St. Ann's Square, the site of which is now occupied by Sir Benjamin Heywood's Bank. His eldest son Daniel lived at Hope near that town,

but let him go on condition that he should raise one half of the money⁽¹⁾; they have much ado to find so much money in the town, they came within threepence, at last they got that, a party of about 1000 stayed to take it; as they went through Salford a man shot at the last of them⁽²⁾; they all turned about, everybody in great confusion. Mr. Norris⁽³⁾ ran up to the Cross and cried out for everybody to shut shops and get into their houses, but the gentlemen pacified them as well as they could, and they took with them the constable and deputy of Salford until they could find the man that did it. The gentlemen proffered five guineas for him, and I hear they have took him.

An express that the Duke of Cumberland will be here to-morrow

and was father of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Butterworth Bayley. See vol. i. part ii. p. 511, *Note*; Sir Oswald Mosley's *Fam. Memoirs*, p. 48; *Gent. Mag.* 1802, p. 777. Mr. James Bayley ob. 6th April 1753, æt. 80.

(¹) It is stated (Dr. H. Ware's *Manchester Foundations*, vol. ii. p. 107) that they took him before Lord George Murray, who released him on his giving the Prince his word of honour to fetch him the £2,500 in two hours or surrender himself again a prisoner. Mr. Bailey then went to the coffeehouse where the principal inhabitants were accustomed to meet. It was then proposed that Mr. Bailey and Mr. John Dickenson should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as would find the required sum. These terms were complied with, and the money being procured, was paid about two o'clock.

(²) In that very amusing and exceedingly rare book Captain Dudley Bradstreet's *Life* by himself (Dublin 1755, 8vo), he gives some curious particulars of the march of the Prince's army, to which he had joined himself, being all the time, as he acknowledges with the coolest assurance, a spy in the pay of the Duke of Newcastle. He observes in reference to this incident: "We sat on horseback in Manchester till near three o'clock in the afternoon, being delayed in levying the excise and other public money, about which time part of the army marched towards Wigan; the remainder were preparing to follow when a shot was fired at some of us out of a garret window; this provoked most of the officers and private men to such a degree that they seemed determined to fire the town. I used all my influence to compose them, and advised them to hasten their march to the rest of the army, where most of the chiefs were, and submit their resentment to their judgment and conduct: several others joined me in this advice, and they at last complied." — Bradstreet's *Life*, p. 154.

(³) Mr. Henry Norris of Manchester, who married in 1739 Catherine, daughter of John Shaw of Anderton Gent. and was father of Henry Norris Esq. of Davyhulme, who ob. 1819, leaving issue an only surviving daughter and heiress, now living a widow at Davyhulme Hall.

with his army⁽¹⁾; it is the shortest day; Mr. Jer. Bower⁽²⁾ says he shall remember it as long as he lives.

Wednesday 11th: the bells are ringing, for they expect the Duke every minute; now the bellman is going for everybody to provide for the army. Dr. Mainwaring is come home, he looks mighty gruff, he is gone straight through the town to meet the Duke. Now the bellman is going again to tell folks they must not illuminate for the Duke will not be here to-night, and desired the folks to go to their own homes, for all the country is come in to see. Miss Vigor and me went up to my aunt Brearcliffe's, found Mr. Greaves⁽³⁾ and my uncle Houghton there, and saw 200 horse dragoons come in, they are all that are come to-day.

Thursday 12th: smoothing⁽⁴⁾; my brother came and fetched me to see the Duke; we all went up to aunt Brearcliffe's,⁽⁵⁾ stayed there all day, saw nothing but the light horse and hussars, which went straight through the town, came home about five o'clock, and found my Lord Lempster,⁽⁶⁾ Captain and Lieutenant Harris, quartered upon us, Handiside's regiment⁽⁷⁾; my Lord is the Earl of Pomfret's

- (¹) 12. Paid James Ashton for going with sundry expresses to inform his R. H. the Duke of Cumberland of the rebels' retreat 01 . 03 . 06
 12. Paid sundry watchmen set on Salford bridge and all other ends of the town for 36 hours, to prevent any intelligence following the rebels of his R. H's. army being in close pursuit... 03 . 17 . 08
 13. Paid a man for summoning the gent. of the town to meet his Royal Highness, being expected from Macclesfield this day.... 00 . 00 . 03

Const. Accounts.

(²) Jeremiah Bower, Boroughreeve in 1743, was a wealthy hatter in Manchester and built the large house in High Street where he lived, before it was converted into the old Bridgewater Hotel, long a celebrated posting house. On a large brass candlelabrum in the Choir of the Collegiate Church is this inscription: "The gift of Jeremiah Bower, Manchester, Haberdasher of Hats, September 29, 1745."

(³) Of Culcheth.

(⁴) *i.e.* ironing clothes.

(⁵) Mr. Brearcliffe lived in a stately house in Spring Gardens.

(⁶) George Lord Lempster, only son of Thomas first Earl of Pomfret, Master of the Horse to Queen Caroline, was born 1722, succeeded his father in 1753, and ob. 1785.

(⁷) Roger Peter Handasyde Esq. of Gains in the county of Huntingdon, M.P. for the town of the same name, Brigadier General in the army, and Colonel of a regiment

eldest son; they are very civil; they have their man and two horses here.

Friday 13th: they stayed with us all day; the Duke goes by Warrington another way. Two dragoons have been to prize Mrs. Syddal's⁽¹⁾ goods. One Dalrymple, an officer, breakfasted here with our gentlemen.

Saturday 14th: our gentlemen march away. The Duke of Kingston⁽²⁾ lodged at my uncle's on Thursday night, his chaplain and nine more of his attendants, and my uncle and aunt Houghton.

Sunday 15th: very quiet; service both ends of the day.

Monday 16th: smoothing the rest of the clothes out when my brother came to tell that all the soldiers were coming back, and the officers would be at their old quarters. A report of a landing in the west; but another came, not to prepare billets, for they did not come; it was true they marched back two miles on this side Wigan, but turned again.

Tuesday 17th: went up to my uncle's; my aunt Houghton and two children come; they brought word that the Duke of C[umber-land] had left the army and gone post to London, but it proves false; various reports of the Highlanders being taken and killed, and that they are surrounded and cannot get out; a gentleman is come from Lancaster, says they set out from there on Sunday morning, they would be at Kendal that night, at Penrith on Monday, and Carlisle on Wednesday.

Thursday 19th: yesterday was the fast⁽³⁾; to-day at my uncle's at

of Foot, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Thorneycroft of Milcombe in the county of Oxford Bart. He died near Hammersmith February 27th 1745.

(¹) Her son was an active partisan of the Prince, and had a commission in the Manchester Regiment, which probably led to her goods being appraised.

(²) Evelyn Pierrepont, second and last Duke of Kingston, who succeeded his grandfather in 1726, and ob. in 1773. His wife was Miss Chudleigh, one of the Maids of Honour to the Dowager Princess of Wales, but afterwards convicted by her peers of bigamy, and the subject of Foote's ridicule and the nation's scorn.

(³) The 18th of December was appointed by parliament for a general fast, and it was observed as a singular coincidence that the Bishop of St. Asaph (Lisle) preached before the Peers at Westminster Abbey, and Dr. Newton, Rector of St. Mary le Bow,

dinner, it is the first time of my uncle's going out, my aunt keeps her bed; where the Highlanders did not care to pay, they drew bills upon the Duke of Kingston or some other great man; we have abundance of lies about them, they are killed, taken, surrounded, and got clean away, all two or three times of a day.

Friday 20th: dined at my uncle's; cousin Walker and uncle and aunt Houghton went to drink tea at aunt Brearcliffe's.

Sunday 22nd: at new church, Mr. Cleaton [Clayton] preached for Mrs. Hoole; a paper read up from the Bishop of Chester to my uncle Edward⁽¹⁾ and Mr. Miles Bower, he called them his "dearly beloved in Christ," ordering and empowering them to take care of the revenues of the church till such time as he shall put a rector in; Mr. Merriott⁽²⁾ and Mr. Joseph Allen⁽³⁾ went out of church because Mr. Clayton preached.

Monday 23rd: washing; two regiments of soldiers are come in to-day; Lord Samples⁽⁴⁾ and the officers choose to be billeted at private houses. Last Tuesday I writ to Miss Nanny Leigh⁽⁵⁾ and

(afterwards Bishop of Bristol, and the learned author of the "Dissertations on the Prophecies,") before the Commons at St. Margaret's, *from the same text* — Rev. ii. 5. Both sermons were published, and Newton received some threatening letters, which his patron, the Earl of Bath, advised him to lay before the Secretary of State.

(¹) See Byrom pedigree.

(²) Joshua Marriott, a wealthy merchant, whose house in Brown Street, near "Marriott's Court," with a coat of arms over the front gate, is now a warehouse. His son Joshua Marriott Esq. lived at Rusholme (born 1747, ob. 1827), and left an only daughter and heiress, who married Thomas Holme Maude Esq. descended from the Maudes of Alverthorpe Hall near Wakefield.

(³) Joseph Allen was father of William Allen Esq. the banker, whose son Joseph Allen D.D., born 1770, admitted a scholar of Manchester Grammar School January 14th 1779, afterwards Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge and Prebendary of Westminster, was successively Bishop of Bristol (1834) and Ely (1836). He died 20th March 1845.

(⁴) Hugh eleventh Lord Sempill, Brigadier General at the battle of Culloden, and Colonel of the 42nd Regiment, married at the Collegiate Church, 13th May 1718, whilst Major Sempill, Sarah, daughter and coheiress of Nathaniel Gaskell of Manchester Esq. He ob. in 1746.

(⁵) Anne, daughter of the Rev. Egerton Leigh LL.D. of West Hall, Archdeacon of Salop. She married first the Rev. Mr. Felton, secondly the Rev. Mr. Cockayne.

cousin Roughsedge. Mr. Butterworth⁽¹⁾ was buried last Saturday. My Lady Lever has seized of Dr. Deacon's goods; he has been out of town since before the King's forces came in, there are four children at Mrs. Coats's and four at Lady Lever's. They seem to expect an invasion about London; they have ordered everybody to drive all their cattle twenty miles from the sea side, and given orders for the lighting of beacons, and the train bands to be ready at the firing of seven guns at the Tower.

Tuesday 24th: smoothing.

Wednesday 25th: Christmas Day, dined at my uncle's; Mrs. Smith from Smithills, Mr. Cattell there, drank tea and went to new church, and at night we went up to the Cross. Yesterday came an account in the *Gazette* of a skirmish there has been at Clifton Moor on this side Carlisle; they say they lost about forty men, but they cannot tell how many the Highlanders have lost, for they carried off their men in the dark: our Presbyterians had an express on Sunday, but they must not be known, which made us judge they were not very pleasing to them.

Thursday 26th: dined at my uncle's, and Mr. Smith; it is my aunt Betty's birthday; my aunt Brearcliffe's folks and us all there, stayed late; Dolly has been to see the Highlanders that are in prison, there's eighteen of them; they expect an invasion about London still, and have made great preparation to oppose them.

Friday 27th: Mrs. Hebbon had a letter from the Captain who was in the skirmish; he says Bland's regiment⁽²⁾ suffered the most, but no particulars. We have been at Baguley over the wooden bridge without rails. My brother was sent for to Kilshaw [Culcheth].

Saturday 28th: all the reports are quite of our side the question

⁽¹⁾ Thomas Butterworth of Manchester Gent. married the only daughter and heiress of John Crowther citizen of London, by his wife Mary, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats Esq. Their son Thomas Butterworth Esq. had issue by his wife Frances, daughter of Sir Robert Dukinfield Bart. three coheiresses: 1 Susan, wife of Sir Henry Hoghton Bart.; 2 Ann, wife of Daniel Bayley of Manchester Gent.; 3 Jane, wife of Francis Jodrell of Yeardsley Esq.

⁽²⁾ So named after Major General Humphrey Bland.

to-day, if they will but any of them prove true. Mr. Ward⁽¹⁾ was inducted to the rectory of the new church to-day; the bells are ringing for him.

Sunday 29th: he preached in the afternoon a most furious sermon against popery. Mr. Lewthwaite and Mr. Johnson⁽²⁾ drank tea at my uncle's; Mr. L. and my mamma had a great scolding bout about these Highlanders, he abuses them most strangely; we stayed the evening.

Monday 30th: washing; my mamma and I at Lady Lever's and Mrs. R. The Highland army has got into Scotland and left a garrison in Carlisle, and the Duke is besieging it, he was to have cannon come from Whitehaven for that purpose last Tuesday, he did not question but he should be master of it in twenty-four hours; there are 350 Scotch and 250 English for to garrison it.

Tuesday 31st: smoothing; drank tea at my uncle's, aunt Ann but ill yet.

(1) The Rev. Abel Ward, Fellow of Queen's College Cambridge, B.A. 1740, M.A. 1744, Prebendary of Chester 1744, Rector of St. Ann's, Manchester, 1745, Vicar of Neston 17—, Archdeacon of Chester 1751. He ob. October 1st 1785, and was buried in St. Mary's Chapel within the Cathedral Church of Chester.

(2) Thomas Johnson of Tildesley and Manchester Esq. High Sheriff of Lancashire 1755, ob. 1763, æt. 52. He married first Anne, daughter and coheirress of William Sudall of Blackburn, merchant. She ob. 1739, æt. 23. He married secondly, in 1742, Susanna, daughter and coheirress of Samuel Wareing of Bury Gent. The Prince's aide-de-camp, with a number of other men, was quartered at Mr. Johnson's, whose horses had been seized when in the act of being removed, and with them a letter describing the approaching party as *rebels*. He was, in consequence, made a prisoner in his own house and severely treated, but admitted to a large party of the officers which caroused there. *King James* was of course the first toast; and the host being asked next for his, had the temerity to give "His Majesty, King George." Some of the officers rose and touched their swords; but one of the seniors instantly exclaimed, "He has drank *our* Prince, why should we not drink *his*? Here's to the Elector of Hanover." — Baines's *Hist. Lanc.* vol. ii. p. 296; *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. i. p. 43. Mr. Johnson had been appointed one of the collectors of the subscriptions raised for the King on September 26th 1745. He was maternal grandfather of Mr. Ormerod the historian of Cheshire. See the pedigree of Johnson of Tyldesley in Ormerod's *Parentalia* (privately printed), p. 11, 8vo, 1851.

1746.

Wednesday January 1st: New-years day, at new church; the Marquis of Grenville's regiment came in to-day, some of them were so rude at Dr. Deacon's that he went out of town again; all uncles and aunts here as usual on this day, but aunt Ann. (Last night Mr. Lewthwaite asked my papa pardon for scolding with him.)

Thursday 2nd: my uncle and aunt Houghton here in the forenoon, and we went up to my uncle's to dinner. This morning we were waked with ringing for the taking of Carlisle again, but we hear no particulars, that the Duke is gone post London; the bellman is going to-night to order every body to illuminate to-morrow night; there has been a great bonfire⁽¹⁾ all day, and the bells have scarce ever ceased.

Friday 3rd: the bells again, and illuminations in every house in the town except Mr. Cattell's; he drank tea here. The Presbyterians have made two effigies of the Prince, one in his Scotch, and one in his English dress, and carried them up and down the town and raised a great mob, which was headed by some of the young Presbyterian gentlemen, and went to all the houses in town where any were gone from and broke their windows although lighted, and a great many more besides that were not thick enough; they were very rude, and they carried their bunch of rags down to Mr. Dukenfield's,⁽²⁾ and the Justice out of his great courage got a gun and shot at it, and then it was brought into the house and he wrung it by the nose, then his wife and daughter were introduced and had the honour to slap it in the face, and so on till they all were tired

(1) 3rd Jany. Boonfire, Carlisle taken, 6s.	Paid Mr. Bartholomew
for wine per bill	03 . 06 . 06
4. Another boonfire for Carlisle, and town illuminated, Marquis	
Granby here	00 . 06 . 00

Const. Accounts.

⁽²⁾ Robert Dukinfield of Manchester Esq. eldest son of the first Baronet by his second wife, Susanna, daughter of Robert Thompson of Culpho in Sussex Esq. was born in 1687, High Sheriff of Lancashire 1741, married Anne, daughter and coheiress of John Browne Esq. and ob. in 1748. — See vol. ii. part i. p. 307, *Note 2.*

and drunk, for all the heads of the Presbyterians were at the Angel⁽¹⁾ and gave the mob drink; then they hung it upon the signpost, then quartered it, then threw it into the fire; somebody threw a piece of it into the drink, which put them into a violent passion. The next day several gentlemen went down to the corner to make complaint, but the justices would hear none; Lady Lever went, because Dr. Deacon's house was her's, but they were very rude to her and told her Dr. Deacon was a Jesuit and must not live in town, if she would meddle with nobody nobody would meddle with her, she must sell him up, give him warning, for he must not live in the town.

Sunday 5th: Mr. Brooks at my uncle's was taken ill to-day, complained of his foot, on the Monday it mortified, and on the Tuesday night he died, and was buried on Wednesday; my brother and sister and self had gloves.

Tuesday 7th: an account in the *Gazette* of a skirmish betwixt Lord Lewis Gordon⁽²⁾ and Lord Loudon,⁽³⁾ the latter was worsted, but they say they can have no account but from the rebels, in short they have no mind to know much on it. We went down to see Mr. Gwine cast pipes for the organ; then went to drink tea at Lady Lever's,⁽⁴⁾ Mr. Cattell, Mr. Greaves, my uncle Houghton; the two

(1) The Angel Inn in the Market Street was, about this time, the head inn, and frequented by the whig magistrates, barristers, &c., the Bull's Head having been long the favourite resort of the other party.

(2) Lord Lewis Gordon was third son of the second Duke of Gordon by his wife Henrietta, daughter of Charles Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth. He ob. July 15th 1754 unmarried, at Montreal.

(3) John fourth Earl of Loudon, a General in the army, who dying unmarried in 1782, the title devolved upon his cousin, whose daughter and heiress, the Countess of Loudon in her own right, married in 1804 Francis first Marquess of Hastings K.G. Governor General of India.

(4) Lady Lever was Dorothy, daughter and coheiress of the Rev. William Assheton B.D. of Chadderton Hall and Rector of Prestwich. Her town house was in Piccadilly, now the White Bear Inn, where in 1777, after her lamented death, her body lay in state and the public were admitted to see it. She had lived in great style, Lady Lever and Lady Bland having each ran *four* horses with their old, heavy, cumbrous carriages and were both much beloved by their respective tory and whig parties. Lady Lever was a relative of Dr. Byrom, and advocated his political views. There were fine full-length portraits of Sir Darcy and Lady Lever at Alkrington, by Win-

last walked to Kilshaw [Culcheth] that night to my papa, who went yesterday. There is great talk of the French landing every day; there's several great men at court removed, A. Vernon,⁽¹⁾ Marquis of Tweeddale,⁽²⁾ &c.

Wednesday 8th: my papa and uncle Houghton came home; went up to my aunt Brearcliffe's; yesterday we was at cousin Wright's in the evening, and Mr. and Mrs. Shrigley, it was the 7th of January, her birthday.

Thursday 9th: in the *Leeds News* there's Lord John Drummond's⁽³⁾ declaration from the French King, his master; he declares the family of the Stuarts his allies, and that he will assist them.

Saturday 11th: There's an account that the Highlanders are got into Stirling town and are besieging the Castle, and that our Manchester men, who were all in Carlisle (except Mr. J. Bradshaw and Mr. R. Jackson) are taken to York on their way to London, and all the common men are brought to Lancaster, some must go forward to Chester; poor Bobby Deacon⁽⁴⁾ is left ill at Carlisle; Mr. Tom Moss⁽⁵⁾ has been at York to [see] them all, and they are very well, and have been well used. Dolly has had a letter from one of the

stanley, and a very good portrait, by the same artist, of their daughter, Mrs. Greaves of Culcheth Hall. These and the other family portraits are now the property of Archibald Watson Goldie of Edinburgh, barrister at law, who married the daughter and coheirress of Darcy Lever Esq.

(1) Admiral Vernon, who was deprived of his rank in the Royal Navy, and who in his Letter to the Duke of Bedford (1st February 1746) says, "I entertain too good an opinion of your Grace to think I have not the continuance of your patronage and friendship, notwithstanding the incident of my being hunted out of my command by the operative malice of some malicious and industrious agent that is too well skreened over for my being able particularly to discover him and point out who it is."

(2) John fourth Marquess of Tweeddale succeeded his father in 1715, married in 1748 Lady Frances Carteret, daughter of John Earl of Granville, and ob. 1762.

(3) Lord John Drummond was brother of the Duke of Perth, and both were included in the same act of attainder in 1746. He died s.p. in 1747. The Regiment of Royal Scotch in the French service was raised for him.

(4) Lieutenant Robert Deacon was conveyed as far as Kendal, where he died, apparently in prison.

(5) Captain Peter Moss was amongst the Lancashire rebel officers taken at Carlisle, but he effected his escape from Newgate. Mr. Tom Moss was his brother, descended from the Moss' of Foulds, an old Hall near Bolton-le-Moors, they being the manerial

Highlanders that went from this house of c[orrection] to Lancaster; she has had a deal of money given her for them, near four pounds before they went, besides meat every day.

Saturday 18th: a strong report that the Highlanders have beat General Hawley, but the whigs say they are all surrounded and will all be cut to pieces quickly, they expect to hear it o' Sunday.

Sunday 19th: the French are a-coming still; it is said that Mr. J. Lees has had an express in the night that Hawley had lost 1700 men, but it must be secret.

Monday 20th: went to Baguley: with Miss Levers and Dolly; stayed all night.

Tuesday 21st: went a-hunting, and good sport, but the rain sent us in; it rained so all day, I stayed all night again.

Wednesday 22nd: came home behind my uncle Houghton; they have no true news for us still; Dolly B. here this evening; my uncle Houghton has been to Dr. Hall's,⁽¹⁾ who has heard that there

lords of Little Bolton. He was of Brasenose College Oxon., B.A. 1734, M.A. 1738, elected Fellow of the Collegiate Church Manchester, 1747. He married Sarah, daughter of John Parker of Brightmett Hall Esq. who died in childbirth January 21st 1752-3, æt. 27, and was buried in the Collegiate Church. Mr. Moss died at Crumpsall Hall July 17th 1760, æt. 48. — *Fasti Mancun.* a MS.

(¹) Dr. Richard Edward Hall was a respectable surgeon, and long resided in an old-fashioned post and petrel house in Deansgate at the corner of Bridge Street, where the shambles now stand. He removed from thence to a house in Hulme, whither his eldest daughter accompanied him, and there he died. Some years afterwards the family removed from the house in Deansgate to a large house at the top of King Street, and several of his sons and daughters died there and are buried in the north aisle of the Choir in the Collegiate Church. The last surviving daughter, Miss Frances Hall, a pious and exemplary churchwoman, died on the 11th June 1828, æt. 87 years, and bequeathed a large fortune (more than £40,000) to the Manchester Infirmary and other charitable institutions in the parish. A fine monument, by Chantrey, was erected to her memory in the Byrom Chapel. This monument was removed a few years since to the place it now occupies in the Derby Chapel, where the remains of Miss F. Hall were interred in the grave belonging to her uncle, — Feilden of Didsbury Esq., the family grave in the north aisle being full. It was to Dr. Hall, whilst paying his addresses to Miss Grace W—— his future wife, that Byrom sent the following epigram:

A lady's love is like a candle snuff,
That's quite extinguished by a gentle puff;
But, with a hearty blast or two, the dame,
Just like a candle, bursts into a flame.

[is] a letter come to Mr. Kilshaw's that Hawley is defeated, that there are some French landed; the Presbyterians have gathered 16s. to send a lad, an express.

Thursday 23rd: they have ordered the bells to be ready to ring and say there shall be such rejoicing as never was in Manchester before, but to their disappointment he has brought word that there was an action on Friday the 17th. Sunday the *Gazette* came to Warrington, but not here; Berry went to Rochdale for his news, put a cockade in his pocket expecting to hear of another engagement, but did not; Mr. Cattell, Mr. Houghton and aunt B[rearcliffe's] folks here. Ellen Banks's mother buried to-night.

[Shorthand memorandum by Dr. Byrom.]

"Morton Hall, Nov. 4th, 1745. These do certify that the bearer, Alexander Macdonald, was a guard to my house at Morton Hall till this day, and is desirous to be directed forward to his country people wherever they are, because he cannot speak English. — JAMES D."

This note I copied from a paper which the little Highlander who came on Saturday morning to roast a piece of flesh by our fire had by him; he had three guineas quilted in the flap of his waistcoat, and one he showed me, asking if it was a good one as well as he could, for he had but very few English words; he lay in the stable, behaved very quietly, so we let him stay; said he would call upon us at his return from London to ——— but we saw him no more when they all returned from Derby and were pursued by the Duke of Cumberland,⁽¹⁾ when Lord Lempster and Mr. Harris lay at our

(¹) According to the contemporary "New Whig Ballad to an Old Tune,"

"From the Highlands to Derby they march'd bold and gay,
Because they had nothing to stand in their way;
But as soon as they heard the brave Prince was come forth,
Away gangèd Charles, Tullibardin, and Perth.

Britannia they thought with fine words to bewitch,
But she would not, she thank'd 'em, shake hands with the itch;
Such vermin won't live long on this side the Firth
As web-finger'd Charles, Tullibardin, and Perth."

house two nights, and were very civil, and had a very orderly servant, who lay in Ellen Banks's bed, my Lord in ours, and Mr. Harris in Beppy's; and two horses.

[In shorthand.]

John Byrom to Mr. Vigor.

March 1st, 1745-6.

Dear and honoured friend: Mr. Tayler having been [so] good as to call upon me to-night to let me know that he should see you, I take the opportunity of enquiring after your health and welfare, and that of the lady to whom, and to yourself, I have wished much joy in my mind ever since I was told that the two fellow travellers had agreed to live at home together. I thought that I should have seen you at London long before now, but the occurrences of life have obliged me to stay in the country, where a new scene of affairs has laid the same embargo upon me this winter; you will easily judge that I mean the progress of the Highland army through this place, with which, if London itself was alarmed, it is no wonder that we were so also. As they came forward, the apprehension of our people increased, a great many of them left the town and sent away their effects, and some their provisions, their bread and their cheese and their liquor, which exporting of what we and our expected visitors might want was put a stop to in some measure by sending the bellman to prohibit it. We were told one morning that they were gone to Liverpool, but it was false intelligence, for that day about noon there came a sergeant and a drummer in a Highland dress, with a woman on horseback carrying a drum, which they beat up, soon after their arrival, for volunteers. My curiosity led me to my sister's window at the Cross, where I beheld this extraordinary event of two men and a half taking our famous town of Manchester without any resistance or opposition, which I suppose the apprehension of the rest being at their heels might inspire us, however courageous, with the prudence not to make. That night there came in a party of horse, and the next day the whole army. The Prince (for so he has been called in all places when present, or near it, but, at a proper

distance, Pretender) came in about noon, walking in a Highland habit, in the middle of a large party, and went to Mr. Dickenson's house, which his —— had that morning ordered for his lodging after viewing some others, which, for some reason or other, they did not like so well. The officers and the men were sent up and down to the several houses; they did not take their billets from the constables, which made the distribution not so equal, some having more than their share and others less, and some houses both public and private, through mistake, none at all; amongst which ours had the fortune to be one, my name I suppose not being in the town books, being no proprietor, or not coming within their information, so that we had only a single Highlander, who came into the house of himself, and, behaving civilly, we entertained him civilly, and he was content to lie in the stable during their stay. The town was exceeding still and quiet. The day that the Prince came in the proclamation of his father was read at the Cross, and the two constables were forced to be there, and one of them to repeat the words. I came by as they were at it, but there was no great crowd or hurry about it nor any soldiers, only an officer or two, who I suppose performed this ceremony wherever they came. It was easy enough for friend or foe that was curious enough to see the Prince, to have an opportunity; he rode through the streets the day after his coming, and to do justice to his person, whatever his pretensions may be, he makes a very graceful and amiable appearance; he is fair complexioned, well shaped, has a sensible and comely aspect. To account for the beauty of the man beyond that of his father, his enemies said here that he was the son of a very handsome pastry cook, some say bread baker, at Paris; but the ladies, smitten with the charms of the young gentleman, say that he takes after his mother.

There were about thirty of our neighbours that listed under him, among whom three sons of poor Dr. Deacon, who engaged without their father's consent as I am told, and two of them without his knowledge; his own opinion he never made any secret of, but has done nothing in his own person that his enemies can lay hold of him for, though they are much disposed to do it; he has lost his lady,

who died not long since, and his second son is just dead, in conveying him from Carlisle, where he was taken with his brothers, who are [in] London, so that his misfortune does not want any aggravation.

The second night our town was ordered to be illuminated, but there was no mobbing till the return of the Highlanders from Derby, where to my surprise they ventured and came back again. The first returning party was about thirty horse, which passed by our house, coming into the town that way, and the foolish mob clodded them with dirt or stones, and then I thought there would have been mischief done, but there was not. They all came in that night, and the next day laid a mulct of £5000 upon the town for the mobbing, which was moderated to half the sum, and raised with much ado. The Duke of Cumberland was expected here for three nights, and a vast mob from all parts to receive him, but he went another way, and the mob which rose soon after the Highlanders were gone did much less mischief than I expected; they broke Dr. Deacon's lamp and windows and some others upon an illumination night on the other side, for bells and candles are ready to ring and shine on all sides. I had Lord Lempster and an officer of his acquaintance and their servant and two horses quartered upon me for two nights, and we treated them the best we could; and his lordship being a remarkably good classic scholar, we passed the time in very good humour and were pleased with our lot. The good folks who deserted the town upon their return home grew rather too valiant when the enemy was gone, and too angry at their neighbours who stayed, and, if I may judge for myself, did what they could that they should suffer as little as possible by their business, which much exasperated the Highlanders, who threatened some of their houses, but did not execute their wrath upon anything but meat and drink, so that we had reason upon the whole to be very thankful. Cousin D.[awson] was here some days ago very well; she was ill at the last illumination, and her room not being illuminated for that reason, the windows were punished a little. A Highlander was shot upon the road by a fellow that, for no reason but his being one, killed him as he was passing with some

others; a butcher was killed in the same manner by a fellow that took him for a Highlander; nobody else killed about us on this occasion, which we thought would have slain half of us. But I am telling you a long, idle story, and shall be too late with my letter; so I heartily wish you good night without any more ado, and am glad to have this opportunity of writing to you, and that must be my excuse for trifling thus with your time and patience. I wish you and your lady all kinds of felicity once more, and am, and we all are, your obliged loving friends — JOHN BYROM, &c.

1747.

P. Whitfield to John Byrom.

Liverpoole, August 10th, 1747.

Sir: Your queries are proposed with so much judgment and propriety that I suspect your skill in the Hebrew to be superior to mine, as I have cultivated this study but since the fifty-sixth year of my age. Since that time I have attended principally to the solution of Scripture difficulties and establishing the divine authority of the sacred books, which is impossible without we can vindicate the authenticity of the points; for I think it may be readily assumed, that *Quod ab alia re pendet, quoad vel materiam vel formam essentialem, nihil in se habere potest, superius ea re unde pendere datur. Cætera prona, h. e., Nihil dat quod non habet.* Before I answer the queries, please to note that it is vehemently asserted by the advocates for the novelty of the points, and particularly L. Capellus,⁽¹⁾ and allowed by all, that the points are constituted so as to preserve the purity of the original reading, which they would most effectually have done, had we received from the ancients as full and determinate ideas of the consonants as we have of the vowels.

(¹) "The Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum" of Cappell, published in quarto 1624, was opposed by the learned Buxtorf in a Treatise "De Punctorum Vocalium Antiquitate," and these two works almost exhaust the controversy respecting the vowel points of the Hebrew language. — Hartwell Horne's *Introd.*, vol. ii. pp. 8, 157, 8vo.

To the queries. 1. My book will show that (the *יָי* and particularly) *יָ* hath not any determinate use, and it is more serviceable for *ὀρθογραφία* than *ὀρθολαλία*. This, as the other M. L., is used with all the vowel sounds, particularly in the acrostic odes, such as Ps. 119, &c. Sam. 1, 2, 3, 4.

2. I have shown the high probability of the points being coæval with the letters, and, I hope, demonstrated they must be at least as old as the restoration of the laws and religion of the Jews by Ezra, from the obsoletion of the language during and ever after the Captivity. This I have shown that even Capellus, the most violent opposer of the antiquity of the points, is driven to allow, and this date secures their divine authority from Ezra's character.

3. The accuracy of the points serves not only to fix the proper reading at any one time, which might have been done with a less troublesome supellex, but to secure the same against that universal fluxility to which all languages are otherwise liable. Nobody, I think, could at first learn to read without vowels; but persons of study might afterwards read, without them, things obvious. This hints why the two tables (if originally so) were without the points, but who ever saw those tables, and a great many more sacred *κειμήλια* after the demolition of the Temple by Nebukadnetzar?

4. A great multitude of Hebrew words and passages are capable of very various constructions, yet in some (named) instances the seemingly less proper are taken by the Septuagint and St. Jerome, an argument they were tied down by the points; and in this case, not the Septuagint, not St. Jerome, not all the venerable tribe of antiquity could have given the sanction of divine authority to any version without the points.

5. How many books in any language may we read without finding a syllable concerning the letters. The Greek accents would have been always taken to be of equal antiquity with the letters, had not some ancient monuments made the contrary credible.

6. Do the unpointed *מגליל התורה* of the Synagogue go further than the Pentateuch? if not, the great and almost superstitious attention of the Jews to that study whereby they can almost repeat

those Scriptures memoriter, is a good guard for their purity; should that practice ever grow into disuse, they would only be preserved by the use of pointed copies, of which there were at such times a great number.

I own the immemorial use of unpointed copies is the very strongest objection to my hypothesis, which if my book do not, as I fear it will not, answer to full satisfaction, I trust it will be fairly outweighed by arguments of superior moment.

7. I have endeavoured, I hope successfully, to prove writing to have been before the Law. On that supposition we have as good authority for the origin of the points as the letters. But the Hebrew is in possession of the points; whoever denies the right must show a fraud in the title.

For further answer I beg leave to refer you to my book, which I hope you will be so good (as you are very able) as to encourage, and thereby oblige, Sir, your most hum. Servt., P. WHITFIELD.⁽¹⁾

To Dr. Byrom, Manchester.

1748.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Cambridge, Friday night, February 26th, 1747-8.

My dear love: Mr. Downes⁽²⁾ has lent me pen and paper here at

⁽¹⁾ "The true and antient manner of reading Hebrew without Points, pr. 2s. Cooper," was published in 1747, and in the following year was printed in quarto at Liverpool, "by and for the author," Peter Whitfield, "A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel-Points, showing that they are an original and essential part of the Language." This work is unnoticed by Mr. Hartwell Horne, and also by Watt. Byrom's copy has pencil marks throughout, by himself, partly in shorthand. There are two other works (published 1749 and 1757, at Liverpool) by the same author in Byrom's library. See Catalogue, p. 233.

⁽²⁾ Charles Downes, son of the Rev. Joseph Downes M.A. Chaplain of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, was of St. John's College Cambridge, LL.B. 1749, elected Fellow of the Collegiate Church 1760, and, dying in Manchester, was buried there October 31st 1763, æt. 29, having been Rector of St. Mary's two years. — *Fasti Mancun.* a MS.

his rooms to write a line by Abraham. We found Mr. Lloyd at Buxton, and he went to Derby before us, having an early visit to pay to Mrs. Wright with whom he supped, and passed an hour with us at the King's head (where we all put up) before bed, and went on to London and we to Cambridge next day. We came to Newark, and should have reached Stamford next night, but it was further than we were aware of, and so we lay at Colesworth and got early to Stamford next morning; from whence Mr. Downes set out immediately with design to reach Cambridge, but it snowed much and was very cold, and he wisely took up at Huntington. I took a guide to Cliffe, where I supped with Mr. Law and the two ladies, Gibbon and Hutchinson; breakfasted next day with him, and dined and drank tea with them three, and Mrs. Hutchinson's coachman guided me a very good road to Wansford in England,⁽¹⁾ it being but a bad one that I was led to Cliffe. I dined at Huntington to-day, and got to Cambridge soon after five o'clock. Sent for Mr. Downes, who, not being within, I went to Paris's coffeehouse, where I met some of our fellows, who sent for Dr. Hooper, who came thither and with him I went to sup in the hall, and should have been engaged, but chose to be with Mr. Downes that I might write, &c. Dr. Smith the Master is confined with the gout at London; Dr. Tunstall is here at St. John's, and we are to have his company to-morrow night. My horse has done as well as I expected, but he is not fit to travel with my weight with a young mare who carries that of Mr. Downes, nor was it all suitable to my ease to stretch him beyond his abilities. I have got cold upon the road, but by resting at Cliffe it has not gone any further. Mr. Law is in good health; Dr. Maynard is employed for 'em all at Cliffe; he lives at Oundle and has a great character. I sent for one Mr. Inett, an apothecary, to enquire about Mr. Law, at Stamford, and he mentioned May-

(1) This shows that the name and sign at Wansford (which no doubt still exists) is of considerable antiquity. The sign represents a country fellow, who had fallen asleep on a hay-cock and had been floated down by a sudden flood, calling out, "Where am I?" and on being told that he was at Wansford (near his own home) exclaiming, "What? Wansford in England!"

nard's ignorance, &c., and that he imposed upon 'em at Cliffe; and when Mr. Law first mentioned him, and asked what character he had at Manchester, I told him but an indifferent one as I had heard, but did not know him by any acquaintance. He said that Inett was the man who had cried him up at Stamford mightily, had employed him for his own family and himself with great success, but because Maynard would not be at Stamford and employ him as apothecary, &c., he had changed his note. Pray, was it not said that Maynard's name was Musgrave, or some such name?

Dr. Taylor⁽¹⁾ is out of College; Abraham goes to-morrow morning back with the horses; I shall give him a crown for himself, and let him give you an account what the horse has cost upon the road, and you may pay him further according to your discretion, for I don't know how my money may hold out. I desire that I may hear from you at Abington's till I give other direction, if there be occasion; but Dr. Hooper says that the folks there are civil, &c., and so I may be there perhaps as usual. I wish I had had my brown breeches, for these black ones are almost white. I thank God I am much better than I expected to be upon a winter's journey after disuse of riding. Mr. Downes sung Mr. Lloyd the Alderman's Ballad⁽²⁾ at Derby, and he said he was glad on't, being afraid that no notice would have been taken, though he boggled a bit about King George and Hanover rats; but we explained how it was no affront to either. My dear, I hope you will all look to one another, that the welfare of all my beloved family may sweeten my absence. My dearest love, blessing, and wishes of all good attend you. Mr. Downes says that he hopes I am at the end of my tether. My love and service to all and every body. Good night all. Thine most affectionately,
J. BYROM.

To Mrs. Byrom, at Manchester.

(1) The learned editor of *Lysias*.

(2) Alderman Clowes appears, from what follows afterwards, to have writtten this ballad, which, being no affront to either King George or Hanover rats, ought to have been preserved. Had Byrom no hand in it?

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Dick's Coffeehouse, Tuesday night, March 8th, 1747-8.

My dear love: I came to London yesterday from Cambridge in post-chaises, along with Mr Knight, Fellow of Trinity College.⁽¹⁾ We had a nimble passage, not staying to dine upon the road; we set out about nine, and came hither about five or six. I called, in the coach that we took from Smithfield, at Abington's, where, as they did not seem to be quite ready with a bed, I called to-day, and agreed for one, &c. I went on with Mr. Knight to a tavern near his lodgings in King Street, Covent Garden, where we dined or supped together, and I lay by his recommendation at the Hummums, a bagnio hard by. We had a fine morning in our journey, but a bad afternoon of snowy rain, which wet us a little, the tackle of our post-chaises being a little ancient; but had no overturning or accident of that kind, which these slender vehicles seemed to be liable to in the haste which they hurry with and the lads that drive 'em; but we had a very careful man from Cambridge to Ware, who drove his own horses and had fresh ones by the way, and very stout ones. I called this afternoon at Mr. Lloyd's lodgings, but he was gone out, but expect to meet him and Mr. Folkes, &c. to night; I saw George who told me where he would be at night, and Mr. Montague Booth, surgeon, who is master of the house.

I had the satisfaction of receiving Tedy's letter at Abington's, and of knowing by it that you were all well; and that Mr. Wright improved in his shorthand. I stayed at Trinity to teach Mr. Vincent, he that drank tea with you at Manchester, who was eager to learn, having taken some pains to learn from Mr. Weston but disliked it, and glad of the opportunity of ours; he went suddenly to London on Friday last, not to return till Tuesday or Wednesday, and though others talked of learning, yet Mr. Knight being to set out on Monday, I chose to tell the new Hebrew Professor,⁽²⁾ who had his ceremonies

⁽¹⁾ Samuel Knight, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, B.A. 1738, M.A. 1742.

⁽²⁾ Rev. Thomas Harrison, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1717, M.A. 1721, B.D. 1747, in which last year he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew, and ob. 3rd July 1753. — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xxiii. p. 344.

and exercises to pass through till Thursday, that I would, if possible, call again, when they who had a mind to learn were quite at leisure. Mr. Knight intends to be one of them. I have just met Mr. Adams, a hearty friend both to the art and his master, who will be with us to night; he was a practitioner of Weston's, but wants this to be out, being quite sure, he says, that all others would be extinguished by it to demonstration. I called in at Will's coffeehouse by Lincoln's Inn (Page's), where I saw Mr. Hudson and asked how Ch. D[eacon] did⁽¹⁾; he had been with the Duke of Newcastle⁽²⁾ about him and others, and was told that it would soon be determined what was to be done about them; it seems the sheriff would not let them go out upon occasion, but this without any direction from his superiors.

I lodged at the White Bear at Cambridge, for there were chambers in college but no beds; so that Dr. Hooper was enquiring on Sunday for the lodgings that Dr. Legh had when he took his degree here, because Dr. Vernon was to come on Monday to his chambers, where Dr. Hooper was till his own new one, the late Dr. Bouquet,⁽³⁾ Hebrew Professor's could be altered for his use. He died worth three or four thousand pounds, and left an odd will about it, which they cannot act upon without direction from the Court of Chancery; he left it to French refugees of the country in France where he was born, but so indefinitely that they must apply for direction. Before he died he said he had no will, but gave it to the king; but our countryman Greaves⁽⁴⁾ says that will not stand. I just

⁽¹⁾ Charles Deacon and William Brettargh, both of the Manchester Regiment, were conveyed from the New Gaol, Southwark, 11th January 1748-9, to Gravesend, for transportation during life. Furnival of the Manchester Regiment was discharged, and many others whose names are given were transported for life. "Some of them went off with white, and others blue ribbons in their hats." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. p. 41.

⁽²⁾ Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle, K.G. (of that line) ob. 1768 s.p. having been Secretary of State, First Lord of the Treasury, and one of the Lords Justices during the temporary absences of George I. and George II.

⁽³⁾ Philip Bouquet, Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge, B.A. 1692, MA. 1696, B.D. 1706, D.D. 1711, Regius Professor of Hebrew 1712, ob. 1747.

⁽⁴⁾ See vol. i. part ii. p. 339, *Note* 1.

saw this gentleman at Dr. Hooper's, but they went about this will, which they have sent up by Mr. Knight. Mr. Greaves is the only one that had seen O——n's book that I hear of, for he told Dr. Hooper of it. Have they printed the ballad that Tedy mentions? I met with Dr. Tunstall,⁽¹⁾ Mr. Walton's⁽²⁾ son, and Lord George⁽³⁾ the Duke of Devonshire's son, at Mr. Downes' chambers; and Mr. Parker invited him and I one night, but I forbore calling on acquaintances, for fear of such engagements as might have deferred a London journey.

Thursday night [March 10th], Tom's Coffeehouse.

Mr. Lloyd offering to enclose my letter that should have gone last post, I have only to add that I have received thine which came to Cambridge, and give you all many thanks for all your good wishes. I went with Mr. Lloyd to Westminster where I saw some old acquaintances, and we saluted Mr. Reynolds en passant. We were at Rawthmell's coffeehouse in the evening where Mr. Folkes invited us to dinner, where we have been to-day; Dr. Mortimer the secretary, and Mons. Tremblay the French gentleman who has made such strange discoveries about the polypus, &c., dined with us; we came thence in Mr. Folkes's coach to the Royal Society, where we ballotted and elected the Russian plenipotentiary and two others Fellows; thence we are come here to Tom's in Devereux Court, where I have been talking with our countryman Mr. Davie, &c.

George went into the city this morning and looked after my box, while his master and I walked to Exeter Change to see a vast collection of Chinese curiosities to be sold next Monday. I am still in boots, but to-morrow I shall find time to dress, which I could not do before dinner, and Mr. Folkes had told me to come as I was. The folks here are all talking of the Count de Buren, the young new born Stadthouder; of great advantages gained over the French, &c. I shall want to hear of your healths often; I was not so well this morning, and more tired with walking than usual, but am better this

⁽¹⁾ See vol. ii. part i. p. 42, *Note 1*.

⁽²⁾ Of Marsden Hall?

⁽³⁾ George Augustus, second son of William third Duke of Devonshire K.G., born 1728, ob. unmarried 1794.

evening. Mr. Folkes showed me a picture, and wanted to know if it was like; I think I have seen it at Manchester. Mr. Lloyd has just done, so I must conclude that I may inclose it in his. Pray look to yourselves all; if you do well, I hope I shall weather out an absence from you which nothing else can alleviate.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Old Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Thursday night, March 17, 1747-8.

My dear love: I received Tedy's yesterday, glad to hear that all friends are well. I have been confined since my last of a great cold, which has swelled and pained my face and made me careful to prevent any worse consequences, which I hope now that I shall be quite free from. I have been to-day at the Royal Society, and since at Tom's coffeehouse with some of them till now. I thought it would have been too late to write, so desired Mr. Lloyd to let you all know that I had been ill, but was better; but as it is but just eleven I may perhaps have time to tell thee myself that I hope to be quite well very soon. The weather has been extremely bad, and so I have kept at home, such as it is, and taken due care of keeping warm and cloaking myself when I went out. I met with Lord Moreton⁽¹⁾ at the Society, who is to call on me some morning; he was very merry about his examination abroad and a case of conscience about shorthand, which, when they asked him to discover what he had written in it, I can't do that, gentlemen, says he, for I was myself concerned in procuring an act of parliament, that nobody should discover it without Dr. B's consent, &c.; and so we joked about that affair till the Society sat, where one Ferguson brought a new sort of an orrery to show the appearances of sun, moon and earth, harvest moon, eclipses, &c., in a very neat, pretty simple manner, which was much approved of. Lord Willoughby of Parham⁽²⁾

⁽¹⁾ Matthew Moreton, Lord Ducie, who succeeded his father in 1735, and ob. 1770 unmarried.

⁽²⁾ Hugh, the fifteenth Baron, Vice-President of the Royal Society in 1752, and

was there, and at Tom's, where we have been talking about shorthand, deciphering, and other matters; he seems to be a good, clever conversable man. I have not been well enough to go see Mr. Vigor and other acquaintance, as I intended, which has made the time pass but dully in the coffeehouse, where I know not the present set of customers so well as the former. Mr. Lamplugh,⁽¹⁾ my old scholar, comes here, a relation of Miss Kitty's at Mr. Baldwin's; and another gentleman talking the other night about the company at Buxton when you was there, I asked him if there was not one Mr. Fell there when he was there? Sir, says he, my name is Fell; and so I perceived that he was the person; he comes here often in an evening. Dr. Mortimer, our secretary, has something, he says, to ask me about a scheme of shorthand which somebody has left with him and he would have my opinion of; so I appointed to call on him in the afternoon to-morrow, where I shall meet Mr. Folkes, who has presented me with his Book of Silver Coins.

Sat. night. I was too late for the post, it seems, so being come home sooner to-night, I write to let thee know that the weather is desperate cold still, but that I rather keep mending. I went to Dr. Mortimer's last night, who gave me a scheme for a new shorthand that had been sent him that I might read it over at leisure, there being company at his house, — amongst the rest a person of distinction from Florence, who is, the Dr. says, to be made a Cardinal. We talked about shorthand amongst other matters, and I asked him if they had anything of that nature in Italy? he said No; that he had bought some books of it to carry to his own country; that it was an art which all foreigners wondered at the English for, &c. I went from Dr. Mortimer's to Mr. Booth's, and supped with Mr. Lloyd and the family and my scholar Mr. Ainsworth. I am to dine to-morrow with Mr. Freke the surgeon, who called here to-day to

President of the Society of Antiquaries 1754. Byrom addressed to this nobleman his famous poetical letter "On the Patron of England," and facetiously started the question whether *Georgius* was not a mistake for *Gregorius*, which startled the scrupulous President, who, according to Cole the Cambridge antiquary, was a Presbyterian of the most rigid class. He ob. unmarried 1765.

(¹) See vol. ii. part i. p. 24, Note 1.

put me in mind that I had promised him, if I was able. Mr. Downes sent me thy letter from Cambridge, by which I perceive that Alderman Clowes's Ballad is out by this time; cannot one see it somehow, and know the various reception that it meets with from different dispositions? Mr. Freke repeated to me those verses, God bless the King! God bless the Faith's Defender! &c., and said they were Dr. Den's.⁽¹⁾ My service to him and everybody else. I am glad sister D. is better; my chief consolation here is to hear that ye are all well; if you keep so, I hope that I shall be reconciled in time to my present situation, which is but lonely without you.

If you have any copies of *Madam and her Maid*,⁽²⁾ send two or three, they will divert some few of my acquaintance, and one may hear the criticisms of the rest; they have laid the Ode upon a somebody's Birthday to my door. I presume that the Alderman's Ballad will occasion some additional piece or pieces of wit in the second edition of the Letter to his Honour, that will excel sure that which you sent me. Who could Dr. Highton be page to sixty years ago? Here is a member of parliament by me saying that they have been debating three hours about the word *brewhouse*, whether it should be in the Window Act, and carried that it should; but they are not got half through the Act. I must conclude, for now Mr. Lloyd is making up his packet; so good night, and God bless you all for ever and ever. Amen.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Great Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

Edward Byrom to John Byrom.

Wednesday morning, March 23rd, 1747[8].

Honoured Sir: My mamma received your letter yesterday, and we were all sorry to hear you have been out of order, but very glad to

⁽¹⁾ It is clear that Byrom had already put his friends on the wrong scent as to his epigram.

⁽²⁾ "A genuine Dialogue between a gentlewoman at Derby and her maid Jenny in the beginning of December 1745," published in Byrom's poems, and in his best style of humour.

hear you was better, and hope you'll continue so. She had begun a letter to you last night, but my aunt Brearcliffe's folks came and stayed the evening, so she could not write on, but ordered me. I have inclosed a letter which came by the post on Sunday morning, and as none of us knew the person from whence it came, we thought proper to send it you. I hope before you receive this you'll have received some of Sir Lowbred's ballads, which were sent you by Mr. Thomas Chaddock last Friday; some people say it will be answered, but I cannot tell whether it will or no.⁽¹⁾ We have not any

(1) In a Poetical Epistle unquestionably written by Byrom and containing some very fine passages, but which was not included in his collected Poems ("An Epistle to a Friend; occasioned by a Sermon intituled, The False Claims to Martyrdom Consider'd: a Sermon preach'd at St. Anne's Church, Manchester, November 2, 1746, being the Sunday after All-Saints Day, by Benj. Nichols, M.A., Assistant-Curate of the said Church, and Chaplain to the Right Honourable the Earl of Uxbridge.

Out of the Church, to fix our English Doom,
There's no Salvation, say some Priests of Rome:
Out of the State, some English Priests, as mad,
Affirm, there's no Salvation to be had.
The same poor Bigotry, on either Side,
Would make Salvation float upon the Tide:
Alike the Smithfield and the Tyburn Flam;
For neither Pope nor Parli'ment can Damn.

London: printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe, in Pater-noster Row, M DCC XLVII," 4to, 32 pp.) he had referred to Owen, the Dissenting preacher at Rochdale, in the following lines:—

Leave to the low-bred OWENS of the age
Sense to belie, and loyalty to rage;
Wit to make treason of each cry and chat,
And eyes to see false worship in a hat;
Wisdom and love to construe heart and mien
By the new Gospel of a *Magazine*.

This attack was followed up in the ballad mentioned in the text, which was published with the following title: "Sir Lowbred O—n: or, the Hottentot Knight. A new Ballad, to the Tune of *The Abbot of Canterbury*. Occasion'd by a Pamphlet lately publish'd, intituled Jacobite and Nonjuring Principles freely examin'd, in a Letter to the Master-Tool of the Faction at Manchester: with Remarks on some Part of a Book lately published, intituled A Christian Catechism, &c. Said to be wrote by Dr. D—c—n. By J. Owen.

————— Sed hic Stylus haud petet ultro
Quenquam Animantem, et me veluti custodiet Ensis
Vagina tectus: quem cur dstringere coner

news at present, nothing material being in either the Chester or Manchester papers this week. The assizes are held this week at

Tutus ab infestis Latronibus? O Pater et Rex
Jupiter, ut pereat positum Rubigine Telum,
Nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi Pacis! At ille,
Qui me commorit, (melius non tangere, clamo)
Flebit, et insignis tota CANTABITUR Urbe.—HOR.

London: printed for M. Cooper, in Pater-noster Row; and Sold by the Booksellers in Manchester," 4to, 19 pp. Who was the author of this does not seem clear. It is written in too coarse a strain for Byrom, though in parts there is something of his manner. The following extract, which is in a great measure a versification of passages in Owen's "Jacobite and Nonjuring Principles Examined," and in which he is supposed to be addressing Byrom, may interest the reader:—

"Pray why, *Master-Tool*, when you knew not my Person,
Wou'd you venture my Works to entail such a Verse on?
And all, I beseech you, for what mighty Crimes?
— Because that I wou'd not speak Truth at all Times.

Derry down down, hey derry down.

"Tho' I rail'd at your Townsmen without Fear or Wit,
And first abused abused you, Sir, for what you ne'er writ,
Yet ranting or raging, who'er I belied,
I must tell you, Sir, 'twas — on the *Government* Side.

Derry down, &c.

"So since you provoke me, Sir, into the Field,
I dare let you know, that I never shall yield:
To your fugitive Hero I am not akin,
For I shall not endanger — one Inch of a Skin.

Derry down, &c.

"I dare let you know too my humble Opinion
Of a Person, that went to *Bologne*, or *Avignon*,
Or I cannot tell whither; but what he did there,
I took an Account of — from the old *Chevalier*.

Derry down, &c.

"I dare let you know too, that Birds of a Feather,
Nonjurors and *Jacobites*, shou'd flock together;
When in the same Centre I make them conjoint,
You cannot deny but — I speak to the Point.

Derry down, &c.

"And now I have told you, Sir, what I dare do,
I'll attack your Friend *D - c - n* by writing to you:
So then, if you please, you may stand by and look,
And mark how I empty my *Commonplace-Book*.

Derry down, &c.

Lancaster, but I don't hear of any remarkable trials. I saw the man and woman and their two sons in the prison at Preston last

"I'll mention my Authors both *Latin* and *Greek*,
And all to what Purpose I'll leave you to seek :
Paracelsus, *Weigelius*, and eke your Friend *Behmen*
You'll hear of, and wonder — for what I brought them in.
Derry down, &c.

"Both Oculist *Taylor* and Mountebank *Green*
Shall lend me a Query to humour the Spleen :
I'll quote from old Essays, *Hicks*, *Boulter* and *Baddam*,
And beyond all Exception will prove — that I had 'em.
Derry down, &c.

"As my Book, Sir, your Principles freely examines,
I'll talk about *Mussulmans*, *Hindoos*, and *Bramines* :
At *Pegu* and *Goa* your Pranks I'll display,
And quite rout the *Jacobites* — of *Paraguay*.
Derry down, &c.

"I'll eke out my Pages with Stories and Tales,
To amuse the kind Reader when Argument fails,
And upon the *Nonjurors* so rarely will Joke,
I'll teach them to laugh — at a Man of my *Cloak*.
Derry down, &c.

"When I battle old Churches, and Fathers and Saints,
Who furnish your Friend with his primitive Rants ;
I'll shew from their Doctrines, their Manners and Rites,
They were all Knaves and Fools, and in short — *Jacobites*.
Derry down, &c.

"I'll prove, that old Christians cou'd never say true,
That he who believes 'em his Gospel is new :
I'll silence whatever Tradition he vaunts
With Legends, and Fables, — and Travellers Traunts.
Derry down, &c.

"On Sacraments, Mysteries, Miracles all
You'll see with what decent Expression I fall :
The High-flying Churchman altho' it shou'd shock,
What signifies that — if it please my own Flock ?
Derry down, &c.

"Pray, what were these Fathers that make such a Fuss,
But the Meerest old Mothers and Children to us,
Who without a Succession have learnt to succeed,
And to save our new Converts without an old Creed ?
Derry down, &c.

week for kidnapping, but they would not talk any. The affair is to be laid before the judge for his opinion against the next assizes. The

"An honest good Protestant freely will ask,
What Bus'ness the Church has to set him a Task,
Since he can be sav'd without so much ado,
Tho' a Stranger to her — and an Infidel too.

Derry down, &c.

"I'll prove that your Friend is the POPE's younger Brother,
Because they both militate one against t'other ;
That, for the same Reason, your Church's best Friends
Are they that will fight for *Non-Con Reverends*.

Derry down, &c.

"As I am of the Gospel a Minister made,
Of Smut and Profaneness he'll think I'm afraid ;
But thro' my whole Book the blind Bigot shall see,
That under King GEORGE we are totally free.

Derry down, &c.

"I'll print in great Letters his Majesty's Name,
And who then but Rebels can think me to blame ?
He must be a *Felton* or *French Ravilliac*,
That falls upon such a prime *Minister's* Back.

Derry down, &c.

"To give to a Church or a Priest any Gift,
I'll prove is not saving or Protestant Thrift :
To give not at all is a Sign of good Sense ;
True Sterling Devotion — ne'er parts with the Pence.

Derry down, &c.

"Queen *Ann* for poor Clergy establish'd a Pension,
And the Consequence future I — dread, Sir, to mention ;
For shou'd it last always unto the World's End,
It will all come to you and your Catholic Friend.

Derry down, &c.

"'Tis enough that amongst a huge fabulous Host,
I have brought in St. *Grat* to provide you a Post :
The Rats all around he exorcis'd away,
And furnish'd my Letter with — something to say.

Derry down, &c.

"I have made you preferr'd for your eminent Slyness
To be Ratcatcher Gen'ral to young Royal Highness :
You may teach your *Old England* this Trick of St. *Grat's* ;
Oh ! how she wou'd clear us of *Hanover* Rats !

Derry down, &c.

gentⁿ at [the] coffeehouse bid me remind you of a letter you promised to send Mrs. Newton, which was not to be open till the Saturday

"Then *Britain* wou'd bargain with *France's* old Dupe,
And we all shou'd be ruin'd as round as a Hoop;
Our Wives, Money, Conscience, Estates they wou'd rifle;
Were it but the Wives only — that is but a Trifle.

Derry down, &c.

"And now, *Master-Tool*, I'll begin to conclude
With a Touch on your Rhimes, now your Friend is subdu'd;
To *Prynne* in the *Dunciad* I'll match you at once,
And give in my Notes all the Proofs — of a Dunce.

Derry down, &c.

"Many different Cities disputed full hard
Which of them gave Birth to the *Grecian* blind Bard:
But this Poetaster one cannot disrank,
Whose Plaguy Prose-Verses have made me look blank.

Derry down, &c.

"O thrice happy *Manchester*, thou hast thy *Homer*,
Thy own Ballad-maker, without a Misnomer:
With Mincepies and Jellies his Glory shall gee,
And mine — if he'll make but a Ballad on me.

Derry down, &c.

"I'll lend him an Engine to further his Fame,
That an old Friend of mine has just put in a Frame:
He may by this new and ingenious Machine,
Grind Verses by Dozens — two Millstones between.

Derry down, &c.

"Of all your poor Writers 'tis worth the Regard,
From the *Chester Courant* to your Twelvepenny Bard:
If he honours me then, as I hope that he will,
I'm resolv'd to write on — and bring Grist to the Mill."

Derry down, &c.

Now who cou'd refuse such a Challenge as this?
The Mill it has ground, and the Verse here it is;
And the Zealot of *Rochdale*, when'er he thinks proper,
May write on, and throw himself — into the Hopper.

Derry down, &c.

In spite of all Mischief that he can contrive,
Let Peace and good Neighbourhood flourish and thrive,
So — blest be the Hearts of all *Manchester* Men,
And adieu! the Knight Scribbler, Sir LOWBRED O — N.

Derry down, down, hey derry down.

night after she receives it. My mamma desires you would take care not to catch cold, but keep yourself warm. We are all very well, and my sisters desire their duty to you. Mr. Walley sends his compliments to you, and says he hopes to see you in two or three weeks. I am your most dutiful son, — EDWARD BYROM.

You must be sure to write.

Mr. John Byrom, at Abington's coffeehouse,
near Gray's Inn Gate, London.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Thursday night, March 24th, 1747-8.

Dearest love : Mr. Lloyd being here at Tom's will put this in his letter, by which I thank Beppy and thee for your letters and petition. Pray who is meant by Grubstreet Tunewell? and which ballad is the first, Pat. and Grah.'s Dialogue, or what? I cannot get quit of the relics of my cold yet, but hope to do; Mr. Lloyd has got shut of his; I called on him in my way to Mr. Folkes's, where I dined, and there was a Lord Stanhope,⁽¹⁾ Dr. Mortimer⁽²⁾ and three others, and I showed them the oversights of the plan of shorthand that Dr. Mortimer had had sent to him from some Counsellor Jacques, and they were much pleased with the insights that I gave them; we all came thence to the Royal Society, where our chief entertainment has been from new experiments in electricity at home and abroad. If I am tolerably to-morrow I think to go into the city, where I have not yet been, for a long walk tires me at present more than it used to do. I begin to hear of Chester Journals,⁽³⁾ Verses, &c., which my coming seems to occasion talk of

(¹) Philip second Earl Stanhope, born 1714, married in 1745 a daughter of Charles Viscount Binning, and died in 1786, being ancestor of Philip Henry the present and fifth Earl Stanhope.

(²) Cromwell Mortimer M.D. second son of John Mortimer F.R.S. whose first wife was Dorothy, youngest daughter of the Protector Richard Cromwell. Dr. Mortimer was Secretary to the Royal Society, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and a member and regular correspondent of the Gentlemen's Society at Spalding. He died in 1752, and was buried at Hatfield Peverel in Essex.

(³) Mrs. Adams's "Chester Courant" was the journal of the Jacobites, and Whitworth's "Manchester Magazine" that of the Whigs. See Byrom's epigram on Owen.

amongst the folks here, who seem not to have heard of our country controversies before. Whatever comes out of this kind pray send it me, and buy a paper or two of the sort. I called at Dick's to-night, where Mr. Owen's book⁽¹⁾ had been just sent for, and by-and-by I suppose I shall be asked questions by my acquaintance, most whereof are desperate Whigs,⁽²⁾ and loth to allow a man his liberty.

To Mrs. Byrom, near the Old Church,

Manchester.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Richard's coffeehouse, Saturday night, March 26, 1748.

Dearest love: I received Tedy's last, and just call here to write a line before I go to Mr. Vigor's, whom I met in Paul's church yard not long since, and promised to call on him when I came out of the city — where there has happened a very dreadful fire, which began about one o'clock on Friday morning at a great periwig shop in Change Alley (Elridge's), by the careless setting of a candle by a boy, as reported, but with some uncertainty, as is the number of houses consumed, which have been reckoned from 70 or 80 lowest, and 150 most, and the truth may perhaps lie between both. I was gone to bed, or should perhaps have gone with some gentlemen who were in the house to see it, the vast light that flamed out giving them notice of it. I went yester evening and saw the ruinous scene, and engines still playing to keep the fire under, and guards to keep the mob in what order they could. I stepped in afterwards to the Quaker's Tavern, the corner of Bishopsgate Street and Cornhill, and

⁽¹⁾ "Jacobite and Nonjuring Principles examined. In a Letter to the Master Tool of the Faction in Manchester. By J. Owen, of Rochdale. Manchester, 1748." This pamphlet, being an attempt to reply to the principles advocated by Dr. Deacon, Byrom, the clergy of the Collegiate Church, and many of the parishioners of Manchester, ran through two editions. It was very scurrilous in language, and contemptible every way; but Mr. Owen, the Presbyterian minister of Blackwater Street Chapel, in Rochdale, was, according to Dr. Hibbert Ware, "a violent leader of the whig party." — *Hist Coll. Ch.*, vol. ii. p. 96.

⁽²⁾ Strange that the antagonism of Whiggism and liberty should be so treated by Byrom as if it were a proverb!

being kept there by the rain which fell soon after, I heard two of them who had been burnt out of their houses congratulating each other that they had saved their lives, and giving what account they could of the unhappy event, and naming their neighbours who had shared their fate; four or five booksellers, Strahan, Meadows — but you will see their names in the public papers. The wind blew towards St. Michael's church — between Change Alley and that building are some twenty houses in front reduced to burning rubbish. Birchin Lane on both sides is consumed all but about four houses towards Lombard Street, that of Mr. Sidebothom's amongst the rest, and in some places the backs of the houses in that street were burnt and damaged, so that if the wind had stood the least turn more to that quarter the bankers' houses would have been demolished. It is generally said that Elridge was out of town, but that most of his family perished by the suddenness of the fire at such an hour and such a confined place as prevented assistance. I went into George Yard to-night, which was said to be burnt down yesterday, but there is only the tavern at the upper end and the houses between that and Birchin Lane and the Alley quite ruined, the fire not driving down the yard, though damaging some at the upper end. They are still playing some engines for fear of any accident, and really last night there was no small danger from appearances of its spreading again, which there is reason to hope that it will not at present.

I saw cos. Chaddocke standing in a shop by the R. Exchange; his man brought me your packet to Abington's, for which my thanks, and to Phebe for her letter and Mrs. Sutton's shorthand. I can't recollect this Mr. Wright who writes to me in shorthand; pray ask Mr. Wrigley, for by his letter I presume that he knows him, and he should know that I am at London, whence I would write to him if you can procure me information. I hope that my cold will mend with the weather, for I am not so fatigued with walking as I have been. Pray ask Mr. Holbroke (apothecary) what was the gentleman's name, &c., for whom he paid me five guineas, that I may wait on while I am here. I'll send word when

I would have my box up, but at present I choose to defer it till I get quite hearty. I shall be late at Mr. Vigor's, but it can't be helped. I hope cos. Dicken's⁽¹⁾ letter has nothing relating to the congress at Aix la Chapelle in it, that my late delivery of it may be no obstruction to peace or war, if it should be necessary to restore — but I shall be too late, so love, service, and good night to all. Thine forever — J. B.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Dover Street, at Mr. Meredith's,
Eight o'clock Thursday night, April 7, 1748.

My dearest love: I have borrowed the while that, upon coming hither, I find they are drinking tea upstairs, to write to thee. I owe Mr. Thyer and Lewthwaite answers which accidents upon the post nights have obliged me to defer, which I wish you would let them know. Lord Morton⁽²⁾ called on me on Tuesday, and I stayed there till near twelve o'clock, two or three miles almost from my lodgings, and he appointed me to call at two o'clock to-day, and I have been there till now that I called here according to an appointment made two or three days ago when Mr. Lloyd and I called here one morning; Mr. Walley and Warburton, were to be here as Mr. Meredith said, but he does not seem to expect anybody but Sir Th. Egerton,⁽³⁾ and that not certain. The reason of my being so much at Lord Morton's of late was his desire of repractising shorthand, and that of the young lord his son to learn it, who is exceeding quick at it for a beginner. Lady M. and her sister⁽⁴⁾ have told me about their confinement

⁽¹⁾ Richard Allen of Redivales Gent. ?

⁽²⁾ James Douglas fourteenth Earl of Morton (created 1458), born in 1703, ob. 1768, being succeeded by his son Sholto Charles, born 1732, and ob. 1774.

⁽³⁾ Sir Thomas Grey Egerton of Heaton Bart. succeeded his brother Sir Edward in 1743, married Catharine, daughter and coheiress of the Rev. John Copley M.A. Fellow of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, and died in 1756. He was father of the first Earl of Wilton.

⁽⁴⁾ Lady Morton was Agatha, daughter of James Halliburton of Pitcur Esq. and died 12th December 1748.

in the Bastile at Paris, where they were not used so well as might be expected from French politeness and English quality. We had an article in the newspapers here t'other day insinuating that the young Pretender was demolished in some shape or other in Scotland, notwithstanding the stories of his escape; but these ladies told me that they had seen both him and his brother at Paris since that affair; the elder brother it seems has a much better character abroad than the younger. Upon my mentioning to Lord M. the story we had in the newspapers of an alphabet and cipher which the French had found amongst his papers, &c., he said it was very true, and it was the alphabet which I had written for him when he learnt shorthand, which he gave me, and some other papers which they had numbered and signed, he and the lieutenant-general de police at Paris, even some receipts for the shorthand subscription; but having all his papers, they found clearly that there was not the least reason for taking him up, and were ashamed of it when over. The worst was, that a little child of my Lord's, of sixteen months old, was in the Bastile too, because his mamma, the sister, and nurse, would have him with 'em, and died soon after, and was in an upper room where two cannon placed upon the top of the place or battlements of the Bastile were fired upon some occasion, which they thought had an effect upon the child. Lord Loudon,⁽¹⁾ whom we thought we had seen at Colesworth upon our journey to Cambridge, was there one day, and upon talk they told me that it must be Lord Lothian⁽²⁾ that I saw there, which is a probable mistake. There was Lord Murray,⁽³⁾ Lord Lauderdale,⁽⁴⁾ and gentry and ladies there occasionally—that I shall be a Scotchman by and by; but half of 'em are gone over to Flanders, where I hear but a poor account of English

(¹) John, fourth Earl of Loudon, a General in the Army, succeeded his father in 1731, and ob. unmarried 1782.

(²) William, third Marquess of Lothian, K.T., succeeded his father in 1722, married twice, left issue, and died in 1767.

(³) Lord John Murray, eldest son of the first Duke of Atholl by his second wife. He ob. 1787.

(⁴) James, seventh Earl of Lauderdale, born 1718 and ob. 1789, being succeeded by his eldest son.

forces, and great ones of the French, who now insist upon higher terms of peace than some time ago, which our governing folks are much blamed for not having accepted. Here is Lady Mer. tells me that the D.[uke] of C.[umberland] has but 7000 men at his command, that the French have taken Maestricht, which I have heard said elsewhere, but cannot see the probability of it, and have heard wagers offered and refused that it was not even invested, so different are people's political sentiments, which I leave to themselves to account for; for my part, as I am known to be a staunch and steady whig,⁽¹⁾ I hope matters will turn out for the true and real interest and liberty of our country against popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, and all longhanded mischief whatsoever. I was last night at Mr. Yates's chambers with Mr. Sedgewick, Hudson, and Dickenson, who married Dr. White's sister (I think). This was just in our neighbourhood; but I have not made my visits in the city yet, for I have really been obliged to nurse myself for fear of ill consequences from an indisposition which is not yet conquered. I desired Mr. Walley to carry you down some franks; he said that he would. Mr. Boyd's bill is gone through, and he informs me that he will nurse me now; but I have been so long used to one at home that—they are now going to supper and nobody come, and thank Tedy for his letter, and friend O—n for his care of my fame and reputation;⁽²⁾ I am hardly at leisure to mind him or perhaps I might thank him myself. I owe Dolly a shorthand letter, and Phebe, &c.; have patience and I will pay. God bless thee and thine my dear girl, I love you all dearly.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, April 16, 1748.

My dear love: I thank thee for thine, and Tedy's, which I had yesterday. I have just time to write a line for writing sake, because

(1) Here we have one of the many specimens of Byrom's rich fund of humour in which he delighted to indulge, and which he sometimes expanded to the burlesque, but always kept within the bounds of delicacy.

(2) A sarcastic allusion to Owen of Rochdale.

I have not writ of some posts, being engaged so in company that I had not time. I dined on Thursday with Dr. Harding, who came to our Tuesday night's club in Chancery Lane on purpose to ask me, as he had done when I met him before, but I was not well enough to go then; there were five or six gentlemen there, and amongst the rest one Mr. Cambridge,⁽¹⁾ an acquaintance of Mr. Reynolds, who told me that he was to dine with him as to-day, and desired my company, which I have been giving him after a long walk to Dr. Harding's to know where he lives, which I had taken for granted was in that quarter of the town, but was told by the servant, the Dr. not being at home, that his house was at Bedford Row, just by Gray's Inn, where I went back again and was informed by a knowing man that there was no such name in the street; but upon asking a footman at a door he said that it was at the next, where I found them at dinner and told them how I came to miss the hour appointed. There were Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds, Lord Ducie, Lord Jersey and his Lady, and Lord knows who, two gentlemen more that I could not discover who they were; so I had an opportunity of seeing my neighbours and am to have another to-morrow, Mr. Reynolds having invited me to dine with him at four o'clock, the usual hour, after which they sit so long that before one can get home there is hardly time to write; so I desire thee to excuse for me to Mr. Thyer and Lewthwaite, to whom I am indebted. I dined at coz Chaddock's on Wednesday, where Mr. Walley was expected but did not come; they are all very well, and Miss Minshull. I have not seen Lawyer Leigh, nor Captain Wynne, Colonel I should say, for I cannot say that I am yet well enough to make voluntary visits. My cold hangs still upon me; yesterday I was very hearty, to-day I have the headache so much that if I had not promised I should not

⁽¹⁾ Richard Owen Cambridge Esq., born in 1717, educated at Eton and St. John's College, Oxford, author of "The Scribleriad" and some of the best papers in "*The World*," as well as of other miscellaneous works. It was in 1748 that he first took a house in London, but after two years' residence, finding the air of London insalubrious, he retired to Twickenham, where he died in 1802. He was an excellent Churchman, pious, regular and devout, and his religion, like Byrom's, was, in the truest sense, the religion of the heart evidenced in the life.

have gone, to-night I am better again. I follow thy advice in taking care of myself, and hope thou wilt take it thyself, for I don't like that thy head should ache any more than my own. Dr. Stukeley I find has just called here and left a note to take it as a great favour if I would call upon him for a quarter of an hour to-morrow, so I shall take him in my way; he is the rector of the church in Queens Square, where Martin Folkes lives, by the Duke of Montague's gift. Thou heard that I was at Jo. Yates's, did not I tell thee myself? We were there till the clock struck two, and then I left them, not aware that it was so late, but had only to step over the way, and found company in the coffeehouse where last night, after having been at Dr. Taylor's chambers, my shorthand vice-master, I found Orator Henley and two gentlemen who frequent the house, and they would have quarreled I believe if one had not made peace amongst 'em. Pray how comes it that the ballad that Mr. Thyer sent was not printed as he said it was to be? and why is not the second edition of Mr. Owen's book advertised? Mr. Foxley called here yesterday and borrowed mine, and the Sir Lowbred ballad of Jo. Clowes. The history of your Manchester wits seems to be little known here. I hope Messrs. Owen and Shadow will clear my character entirely. Lady Morton thought the gentleman you mention handsome enough, but not so very very as the Manchester ladies made of him neither; his brother, according to her, is no beauty. I am sorry for Dr. White's illness, Charles⁽¹⁾ is gone down I hear. My dear, if I could but see thee as often as I think of thee I should be happier than I am, but if ye do but all keep well and hearty I hope I shall do so too; pray look to yourselves for my sake, my heart is with you though I walk about here. Excuse me to Mr. Lewthwaite; don't let him scold, for I hate nothing worse — or let him do it from the pulpit and imitate his betters.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

(¹) There is a pedigree of Charles White F.R.S., the eminent Manchester surgeon, in Gregson's "Fragments of Lancashire."

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Tom's coffeehouse, Devereux Court,

Thursday night, April 28, 1748.

My dearest love: Mr. Lloyd has given me this bit of paper that he can put into his frank, so I salute thee and thine and all friends. I had thine and Tedy's yesterday, with great pleasure always to hear of your healths; mine is much as one still, the weather rainy and cold since my last. I read Dr. Stukeley Tedy's account of his matter in my way to Mr. Folkes's, who had sent for me to dinner, where I found Mr. Lloyd, Dr. Mortimer and Dr. Davis of Shrewsbury. Your ballads and ballits multiply; pray who is this Mrs. Clough, and what is her knight in your town about? and who are these other pieces laid to? All talk here is of peace, peace, and stocks rising, but nothing certain about the conditions thereof, one report contradicting another, the D.[uke] of C.[umberland] said to be ill of a lethargy, like to lose an eye, and twenty ailings beside, which others contradict; when there is anything positive worth notice I shall tell you. The Manchester prisoners expected to be sent abroad as Mr. Hudson told me lately; have not seen him since that time that he had a letter from Brettargh to that effect; he said he would show me the way to them some day. I have not paid my city visits yet, expecting to be heartier every day, and to trot about voluntary jaunts as well as accidental.

To Mrs. Byrom.

Edward Byrom to John Byrom.

Saturday morning, May 7th, 1748.

Honoured Sir: How do you do? We heard from you in Mr. Lloyd's letter last Sunday, and my mamma wrote to you on Monday morning. I have inclosed you part of this week's Magazine, which contains a letter* from Mr. Owen to Mr. Deacon; also he has advertised his second edition of the former book; there are several new curious things in it, amongst the rest a correspondence carried on betwixt the Manchester clergy and the Pope relating to a letter

which was found amongst Mr. Cattell's books.⁽¹⁾ You may perhaps remember that all the clergy at the old church had every one letters sent to them from the Pope's secretary some time since, though they were forged at London. I have sent the book to you in a parcel to Mr. Wilkinson, and you will receive it about Thursday next.

My uncle Houghton and Mr. Thyer desire their compliments to you; they were very merry yesterday upon reading Mr. O—'s book wherein he attacks the librarian for filling the shelves with Carte's political romances and Deacon's divinity lumber, but poor Rapin is not worth one single place in the library,⁽²⁾ contrary to the intent of the founder. We have not any particular news, but we are all very well, but want to know whether peace or war takes place, for there are different opinions. We should be glad to hear from you at your leisure. Mr. Wilkinson wrote to me to know where he might find you, for he heard you was at London, so I wrote him word where you was, and he said he would wait upon you. I am, honoured sir, your dutiful son — E. B.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, May 7, 1748.

My dearest love: I had writ the inclosed shorthand to Dolly to go in Mr. Lloyd's frank last post, but he was gone from Tom's

(¹) On the death of the Rev. Thomas Cattell, the religious and learned Fellow, it was seriously alleged in Manchester by the Presbyterians that, during the examination of his papers, it was discovered that he and the other Fellows, in conjunction with Dr. Deacon, had actually corresponded with the Pope, through his legate, O'Brian, craving to be admitted into the Romish Church. This trumpery charge was first made by Owen of Rochdale, and, although contradicted at the time, seems to have obtained some credit; and, strange to say, it was not rejected by Dr. Hibbert Ware, who observes — "that there was some foundation for the charge is but too probable." *Hist. of Found. of Manch.* vol. ii. pp. 142 and 95.

(²) Owen went a step further. He sorrowfully exclaimed: "Rapin, alas! poor Rapin has either been refused admission within those learned walls, or, if once admitted, has since suffered solemn expulsion!" Robert Thyer, the excellent Librarian, was not exactly the man to reject so impartial and moderate a writer as Rapin, whose ample though arid History has long had a place in the Chetham Library.

sooner than ordinary, and when I went to his lodgings, had sent his packet away; he left London at about twelve o'clock; Dr. Vernon called on me with one Mr. Romaine,⁽¹⁾ who is printing a Hebrew lexicon, and made me too late at the place where he took horse in Coleman Street, and we took Dr. Hooper's in our way too; but I supped with Mr. Lloyd last night, and he called on me in the morning. I met with Dr. Deacon's brother at 'change for the first time; he did not know of the case of his nephew Charles, which I have here sent in shorthand, the success whereof I have not yet learned. I suppose Mr. Newton is gone down; he promised to leave two or three *Ep. to a Friend* at Abington's, but I have heard nothing of them; if none come I must desire them from thee. I'll send the Act to Sir Ph., &c. Mr. Lloyd's son is gone with him. I am sorry that Mrs. Vigor should attribute my not seeing Mr. Vigor to a reason so far from my thoughts; she is a very agreeable lady upon all accounts; however, as I now write from thence, just after supper, hope that she will forgive me; but for the same reason I must wish thee and thine good night. As for Messrs. Lewthwaite, Thyer, and Paradise, if they chide I shall not be able to write at all. I dined yesterday with Col. Gumley and Ch. Wesley, and went with them to the Methodist church, English Common Prayers; he preached; I met my old scholar Mr. Erskine there, and Lord Pit-sligho's son.⁽²⁾

To Mrs. El. Byrom, Manchester.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Abington's coffeehouse, Tuesday night [May 17th] 1748.

My dearest love: I was prevented from answering Tedy's last

⁽¹⁾ The Rev. William Romaine M.A. of Christ Church, Oxford, born at Hartlepool in the county of Durham 1714, and died in 1795. He superintended for the press a new edition of Calasio's "Hebrew Concordance and Lexicon," in four vols. folio, a work which employed him seven years, and in 1747 he published the first volume. It is a splendid and useful work, improved from Calasio, but in point of usefulness inferior to Dr. Taylor's Hebrew Concordance. Romaine was a Hutchinsonian, a Calvinist, a zealous advocate of the Church of England, and a very popular preacher. His collected practical works appeared shortly after his death.

⁽²⁾ See p. 391, Note 3, ante.

post, and now I am going to Mr. Folkes, &c.; have had that Mr. Brooke with me of whom I bought my horse and borrowed the bags, which I offered to return; he said he had got just such a pair, and thought that he had 'em from me, for he could not tell how else he came by them, and so he said I might keep them, which accordingly I do. The R. Society broke up for the summer last Thursday; another letter of mine to Mr. Folkes was read about the letters of the alphabet, &c. Mr. Stanhope⁽¹⁾ has taken a fancy to learn shorthand; I dined with him again on Friday last, but his brother Lord Harrington⁽²⁾ was not there; Lord Baltimore brought a machine that he and some lords fancied to be some great improvement, and there was old Mr. Graham, watchmaker, and several of our Society at dinner, and Lord Balt. was satisfied that the engine would not answer the expectation, which he could not see why it would not till Mr. Graham explained the matter to all our satisfactions. I have been reading a letter to your clergy of the old church, lately published;⁽³⁾ if you know in Manchester or can give a guess at the author of it, let me know; and let me know too the fact about Obrien's letter found in Mr. Cattell's book⁽⁴⁾ particularly; and what

(1) Charles Stanhope Esq., Secretary to the Treasury, kinsman of James first Baron, Viscount and Earl Stanhope, and in remainder, in default of male issue, to the Barony and Viscounty. He ob. unmarried 1760.

(2) William Stanhope, third son of John Stanhope of Elvaston Castle in the county of Derby Esq., was a distinguished soldier and statesman, and elevated to the Peerage in 1729 by the title of Baron Harrington, and in 1742 to the dignities of Viscount Petersham and Earl of Harrington. He was principal Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Governor-General of Ireland. He ob. in 1756.

(3) "A Letter to the Reverend the Clergy of the Collegiate Church, Manchester, occasioned by Mr. Owen's Remarks both on Dr. Deacon's Catechism and on the conduct of some of the Manchester Clergy, in the second edition of his Jacobite and Nonjuring principles, fully examined by a Sincere Believer in the Doctrines of the Church of England," 8vo, 1748. This Letter was attributed to Thomas Percival of Royton Hall Esq. F.S.A., an excellent magistrate, an intelligent antiquary, and a respectable churchman, warmly advocating the Hanoverian succession.

(4) The following is an exact copy verbatim et literatim of the letter alluded to:—

Dear Rev^d Sir,

October 7, 1746.

I have the honour and happiness to bee his holiness Vice Legate from rome to London. I have rec^d his orders to return his thanks for your & the rest of

is meant by one of the chaplains prosecuting two persons for their behaviour in the church,⁽¹⁾ &c. I have not yet seen Dr. Deacon's book, 6d.,⁽²⁾ not meeting with it where I enquired for it; what do they say to it in your town? Mr. Freke the surgeon is come back from Sir W. W. Wynne's⁽³⁾, and left him in a way to do well. The weather is very hot here, but we have rain now and then, which lays the dust a little. Mr. Wilkinson sent Tedy's note to let me [know] you were all well before his letter came; I flatter myself that you will continue so, and let me know it. The town grows thin, yet many of my acquaintance are yet in it. Mr. Whitfield is come [to] London. The king of Sweden I am told is dead, though I find [it]

your rev^d bodys firm atachment & principles in our holy cause & tho wee have not had the Sucksess this time wee are in hopes it will soon bee effected, hee hath often heard grate commendations of all your reverand body, & the good principles you have all of you instructdd your town in, hee recomends your continuence in the same, & as a reward for your fathfull Servissess hee receves your reverend body in to our holy Church, & hee conjures you & the rest of your body, that you pray no more for the Elector of hannover & his family uppon pain of incuring our holy Displeasure, let the consequence bee what it will for you may Depend on our protection to reward you in this life & in in our Ladys kingdom, & you may acquaint your towns mens frinds that his holiness as a re ward for their merrit will Canonize & rank them with the first Class of Martyrs in heaven & in his Callinder. I have no Sertain acct of our prince beeing got Safe back to frave yet, I have nothing further at present, but recomend you to our holy ladys keeping from
Yours C: O: BRIAN.

London, golden squair Westminster.

Had our prince Suckseeded his holiness would have raisd your Church & reverand body to grate Dignitys.

(¹) The irreverent behaviour in church of Dr. Hopwood and Mr. John Howarth, at the time of turning to the east and bowing at the name of Jesus in the Creed, was indignantly noticed by Mr. Shrigley, the chaplain, and their names were presented. — See Dr. H. Ware's *History*, vol. ii. p. 139.

(²) Dr. Deacon's "book" is doubtless the "Reply" to this rabid charge of Popery, named by Dr. H. Ware (p. 96, Note), a copy of which he had not seen, nor was he able to procure one.

(³) Sir Watkin Williams Wynne Bart. M.P. married (1) Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Vaughan Esq., and she dying s. p. he married (2) Frances, daughter of George Shakerley of Holme in the county of Chester Esq., and had issue two sons. His death was occasioned by a fall from his horse in returning from hunting, in 1749.

not in the News that is taken in here. I hope for a letter in thy hand soon. I must conclude, for it is too late to reach to the end of my paper; so, my dearly beloved dear love, good night to thee and thine, and let me hear from some of you often.

The king of Sweden's death was told by a master of a ship come in a quick passage from Gottemburg.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

William Law to John Byrom.

Cliffe, June 10 [1748].

Dear Doctor: I had the favour of yours, which might have been sooner answered had you remembered the right direction, which was near *Stamford in Lincolnshire*. It is wondered why you should ask leave to call upon us, when you was so expressly desired, when here, to return this way. A person from Donnington Castle has taken with him the verses you left with me.

Mr. Chaddock bid my nephew inform me of a £10 legacy. I want to know why it is not paid, or when it will. You I think have the same gift.

I am, with much regard for you, your affectionate and obedient friend,

W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Abington's coffeehouse,
near Gray's Inn, Holbourn, London.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Abington's C. H. Saturday night, June 18, 1748.

My dearest love: I have received one from Dolly very neatly written in shorthand, though with some mistakes which I shall correct for her shortly, and thine of Tuesday last (a word thou hast learned to spell wrong), and shall be glad to hear that Tedy, &c., are come well home from Harrowgate and have had a pleasant and salutary journey. I wrote to Phebe by cos. Chad. whom I went to take leave with, and asked him again about his brother's papers about my matters, but he had them not ready. I had a letter this week from

Mr. Law, in which he wants to know why his legacy of £10 is not paid; he has hinted to me that they desired me when I was at Cliffe to call on them in my return, which if nothing hinders I think to do. Lord Morton sent for me to dinner last Tuesday to take leave, he was to go to Scotland with his folks all as to-day. On the Friday before, being the 10th of June, I had been asked to meet Mr. Folkes at Mr. Ch. Stanhope's, where I found likewise Lord Lonsdale, D. of Mountague, and Mr. Stanhope's brother Lord Harrington, with whom we passed the dinner and an hour or two after very agreeably. They asked me a great many questions about the Pretender, and circumstances when he was at Manchester, &c., and I told them what I knew and thought without any reserve, and took the opportunity of setting some matters in a truer light than I suppose they had heard them placed in, and put in now and then a word in favour of the prisoners, especially Ch. D[eacon.] They were all very free and good natured, and did not seem offended with anything that I took the liberty to enlarge upon. When Mr. Folkes came away about seven o'clock I came with him, and he said that what had passed might possibly occasion young D's. liberty, that they were not violent in their tempers, and that he took notice that they listened very much to what I had been telling them of Manchester affairs. I was much pleased with the openness of conversation which we had upon several subjects; and as Mr. St.[anhope] had made me promise him some verses that I had lately writ, I added a Latin copy to his brother the Viceroy of Ireland,⁽¹⁾ which I brought

(1) The verses, which are not to be found in Byrom's collected Poems, are here subjoined, and, considering the circumstances under which they were composed, are as creditable to the head as they are to the heart of the writer. They are a gratifying proof of Byrom's fidelity to a friend in adversity; and though the full extent of his petition was not granted, yet there can be no doubt that the life of the poor boy Charles Deacon was rescued from the fangs of a vindictive Government through the intercession of his father's faithful friend:—

Parce, plaudentis Vicerex Iernes,
 Caroli fratris gratiâ, poetæ,
 Si quid, extemplo, tibi carmen ausus
 cudere peccet.

him yesterday, for he had sent a servant for me to dine with him again,

Perculit Musam tua, Vir benigne,
Comitas; et qui fuit Optimatum
Candor, hesternis ego dum loquelis
 lætus adessem.

Nobiles tecum gemini adfuerunt
Montagu, Lonsdale, regiusque Præses
Noster, ut fratri fuerim roganti
ultimus hospes.

Quinque conlustres animas ut inter
Prandium sumpsi, meus et minister
Ipse tu, Rex sis licet alter, esses,
nonne beatus?

Nonne? cum tantas agitare lites
Quas super mundus movet arma nobis
Contigit, major tamen usque pacis
 cresceret ardor.

Nonne? cum cives, et amare cives
Non indecorum est, licuit tueri,
Infimi quos exagitant homunculi
mille fabellis.

Heu! quot insulsis aliquando rebus
Ira civilis capitur? Sed horum
Qui luto gaudent meliore, vix præ-
cordia tangunt.

Me juvet, vestri memorem favoris,
Hanc resurgentem recreare lucem,
Quodque mens urget, placidi sodales,
libera fari.

Vos enim sensi facilè audientes
Quicquid inclinet leviora versùs
Insitæ quicquid generositati
præbeat ansam.

Tres erant, nolim nisi vera fari,
Tres erant fratres mera quos juvenus
Nuper abrepi, gladiisque cinxit
morte luendis.

Unus in vinclis periit priusquam
Carcerum posset loculis novorum
Æger inferri, febris et quadrigæ
motubus impar.

Alter ejusdem socio reatus
Teste, damnatur, moritur, caputque
Nos apud, mori nimium ferendo,
flebile prostat.

and there we had Lord Harrington, Lord Baltimore, D. of Rich-

Tertius jam tum puer et scholaris,
Inscius rerum, ferulæ pupillus,
Arma pro pomis capiens, suis se
fratribus addit.

Hunc tenent, et jam tenuere longum
Claustra, nam vitæ pietas pepercit
Et pudor justus, duplicemque tandem
crevit in annum.

Mitto quæ passus fuerit per annos
Hosce fatales, mala namque sortis
Ferreæ saltem miseranda, quot sunt
plena ruinis?

Ille, Magnates, meus est et ille
Civis, et vestrum petere incitavit
Indoles, magni sitis O, meoque
parcite civi.

Exeat liber; quid enim periculi
Si quibus Rex sit graciosus omnes
Exeant? Hoc est ut opinor omni
numine dignum.

Inclytus Prorex, nisi fama fallit,
Civibus, nostræ regionis, olim
Carcere inclusis dedit ampliores
ipsemet auras.

Perge; succurras miseris, et altæ
Mentis ingentem recolas honorem
Quæ modum pœnæ statuens, jubebit
solvere vincula.

Cogites quidnam velit ille summus
Imperatorum Deus Imperator;
Cujus æternum valeat per ævum
Sancta voluntas.

Me, velim, credas coluisse Musam
Omnibus, quot sint homines, amicam;
Ast inhumanis, ubicunque serpant,
omnibus hostem.

Quæ quod, imprimis, homo sim, deinde
Unus Anglorum, simul et Brigantum
Hacce me jussit, bene ter volentem,
lege precari.

Det Deus cunctæ bona quæque genti;
Hisce præsertim Britones fruantur:
Detque postremum populo salutem
Mancuniensi.

mond,⁽¹⁾ and a lady—Lady Townshend⁽²⁾—and somebody else—oh, Sir John Cope.⁽³⁾ The Duchess of R. should have been there, but the Duke made an excuse for her. As we had a lady, however, and one (as Mr. St. had hinted to me) of great wit and politeness, who stayed the afternoon, complaisance to her turned the conversation

⁽¹⁾ Charles, second Duke, K.G., married Sarah, daughter and coheiress of William Earl Cadogan. He ob. 1750, and she in 1751.

⁽²⁾ Audrey, daughter and heiress of Richard Harrison of Balls Esq. and wife of Charles third Viscount Townshend of Raynham.

⁽³⁾ Sir John Cope, the beaten general of Preston Pans, was the sixth baronet, knighted by William III. in the life time of his father, and M.P. for Hants in four successive parliaments. He died in 1749. He is immortalized, as unenviably as the dwellers in Dante's *Inferno*, in the Jacobite songs of the period. One of the most popular thus alludes to his flight from the field of battle:—

“When Johnnie Cope to Dunbar came,
They speer'd at him, ‘Where's a' your men?’—
‘The deil confound me gin I ken,
For I left them a' this morning.’

Hey, Johnnie Cope, &c.

‘Now Johnnie, troth ye wasna blate,
To come wi' the news o' your ain defeat,
And leave your men in sic a strait,
Sae early in the morning.’

Hey, Johnnie Cope, &c.

‘I faith,’ quo' Johnnie, ‘I got a fleg [fright]
Wi' their claymores and philabegs,
If I face them again deil break my legs,
So I wish you a good morning.’

Hey, Johnnie Cope, &c.

Yet it may be questioned how far a better general would have been more successful than was Cope at Preston Pans. A panic terror, like that which filled Cæsar's camp when he was about for the first time to lead his army against the Germans, seems to have seized upon the English soldiery; and before the strange appearance, the fierce ungoverned rush, the wild cries of the Northern clans, veteran soldiers, perfect in arms and discipline, who had fought bravely and well at Dettingen and Fontenoy, broke and fled like a flock of frightened sheep. Cope himself seems to have been strongly impressed with the notion that the Highlanders were irresistible. Many weeks previous to the engagement at Falkirk, he publicly offered bets in the different coffeehouses of London, to the amount of 10,000 guineas, that the first general sent to command an army against them would be beaten; and is described as radiant with joy when the news arrived of General Hawley's defeat. Indeed, apart from his wagers, which however are supposed to have realized for him a considerable sum, that event

upon suitable subjects, so that I could not well introduce the fate of Ch. D., &c., before the D. of R., who is one of our present kings,⁽¹⁾ as I wanted to do. Mr. St. had read the Latin verses and given them to his brother before dinner, and the Duke might have seen them if he would, but the lady and the Latin did not suit politely enough, and there was no urging anything untimely, or else I could have been glad to have heard what he would have said about the lot of the imprisoned. Mr. Stanhope complaining of a little pain in his side, Lord H. advised him to go to Ranelagh, and the rest being all engaged, he took me in his chariot thither; Lord H. said he would go home and read the verses. One can only try, as occasion offers, what mercy can be got from trying. I have not seen cos. W^d(²) yet; but shall before I leave town, where I have enough to do without being very busy. I wrote by Peter S. to Mr. Lewthwaite and Walford. I wish sis. D. may have got shut of her complaint, and am sorry on your sister Ann's account; pray let me know how she does, and present my best love and wishes to her. I write in the dark almost. Dear, dear love, good night to you all.

Your 10th of June I suppose has passed quietly.⁽³⁾ They talk of Litchfield doings and Derby healths, &c.

Mr. Vigor told me his lady was gone into Yorkshire; that he got a ship for Dr. North to go to Russia in in a week or two.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

restored in some degree his honour. During the whole winter which succeeded his defeat at Preston Pans he is said to have been carried about London in a sedan chair to screen himself from the derision of the mob; but, when the news arrived of Hawley's discomfiture, he pulled back the curtains of his chair and displayed "his face and red ribbon to all the world." — Jesse's *Lives of the Pretenders*, vol. i. p. 366.

(¹) The Duke was nominated in 1740 one of the Lords Justices for the administration of the government during the absence of George II. and again in 1745, 1748, and 1750. He was also Master of the Horse and a Privy Conncillor.

(²) Woodward.

(³) The anniversary of the "Pretender's" birthday, observed in Manchester by the Jacobites, who wore a white rose on the occasion.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Abington's Thursday night, July 14, 1748.

My dearest love: I received thine last post with Obrian's letter and Phebe's; I thought the pamphlet had been amongst you, because Mr. Page at Will's coffeehouse said he had sent it, and so he has to Mr. Richard Ashton,⁽¹⁾ from whom it has been, I suppose, or may be borrowed; I have no frank, or would have sent mine. The two gentlemen you mention are they whom he means to be sure. When talking about the chaplain's turning to west, north, east, south, facing, bowing, &c., very foolishly, he mentions the lesser's⁽²⁾ religious bow, pious roll of his eyes, mysterious cross with his hands, pious demeanour, that he was so taken with that, says he, "I even overlooked his former forgetting his —— ⁽³⁾ when he kneeled and prayed before the young Pretender in Stafford," (for Salford). And before, "I own I had been much out of conceit with your other chaplain⁽⁴⁾ for reading prayers to the Highlanders, but he has quite brushed off that spot by his glorious stand for decent behaviour in the church, and I hope he will go through with his presentment of those two gentlemen (not having named anybody) for whispering in church, and thereby convince the world that neither birth, learning, good sense, religion, and virtue much superior to his own, can screen a man from punishment if he dares behave contrary to the example of his pastors. Though I must own I have heard that some misbehaviour of these gentlemen to Dr. D——n was the real fault," &c.

And before, "I would have conjured you by your wives and children to consider seriously, but I find none of you have any, excepting one of your chaplains, who, it is shrewdly suspected, missed of a Fellowship because he had got a wife; for you must know I do not look upon your *time serving* brother to be worth my notice; though, as I would give every man his due, I will say of him what I can say of none of the rest of you, he will take no step without *valuable* and *weighty* considerations."

⁽¹⁾ Fellow of the Collegiate Church.

⁽²⁾ The "lesser" was Clayton, styled by Owen "a little seditious priest."

⁽³⁾ "Allegiance," or "king."

⁽⁴⁾ Shrigley.

Mr. Warden, Bankes, and Ashton have escaped with general abuse on them and Dr. Deacon, for their not writing against his catechism. It is a very silly, idle business, and yet if somebody would answer it, it might not be improper. He says he was born at Manchester, has been long resident though in London, that he was once no enemy to you know who, as he calls him whom Mr. Cl.[ayton] prayed before in Stafford [Salford]. He mentions Podmore,⁽¹⁾ a queer dog of a barber, and some young fellow not named that Dr. D. has sent for from London to join him in his pseudo (false) ministry, because he had inveigled such numbers that he wanted help, &c.

But you will probably have had Mr. R. Ashton's book. I have heard nobody mention it here but Mr. Yates, with whom and Mr. Dawson, who called on me, I passed an evening this week. This day the eclipse took up the attention of the public; but I fancy the common people, having been so much alarmed about its darkness and birds falling to the ground, &c., will think the learned were out in their calculations, for it was so light at the very height of it as not to be thought on without being told. Mr. Folkes took another gentleman and your spouse to the D. of Richmond's, who has a pleasant terrace on the river just by the new bridge, where we breakfasted and peeped through glasses at it. There was Duke of Dorset⁽²⁾ and Mountague;⁽³⁾ Mr. Fox,⁽⁴⁾ D. of Richmond's son in law;

(1) It is to be regretted that more is not known of this learned and ingenious barber of Manchester, whose published work is certainly an extraordinary performance for a man in his station of life. Owen, in one of his scurrilous pamphlets, entitled "Dr. Deacon try'd before his own *Tribunal*," thus alludes to Podmore: "Suppose I were to assert, that Thomas Deacon, priest, alias Dr. Deacon, has a schism shop in Fennel-street, in Manchester, where he vends his spiritual packets and practises his spiritual quackery on Sundays: suppose that I was to assert, that Tom Podmore is his under-strapper; [in a note he adds, 'A little barber that was in the Rebellion, and is said to have been since promoted to be a deacon in Dr. Deacon's church;'] suppose," &c.;—but enough of Owen's "low-bred" style.

(2) Charles second Duke of Dorset, born 1710, married Grace, daughter and heiress of Richard Boyle Viscount Shannon, but died s.p. 1769. On the death of the fifth Duke, 22 July 1843, the titles became extinct.

(3) John second Duke of Montagu K.G. married Mary, daughter and coheiress of John the great Duke of Marlborough, and had issue three sons, who all died young, and three daughters. His Grace ob. 1749, and all his titles expired.

(4) Henry Fox M.P. Secretary of State and a Privy Councillor, married in 1744

Charles Ratcliffe's son (that was executed);⁽¹⁾ two Geneva philosophers, Tremblay⁽²⁾ and Jollibert; Dr. Stukeley, Lord Tankerville,⁽³⁾ Lady Betty Germain,⁽⁴⁾ and several others; amongst 'em an Adair that asked me how Mr. Marsden⁽⁵⁾ did. D. of Mount.'s house adjoins, and he and Dr. Stukeley soon went into it. I spoke to D. Richmond about Ch. D., but he answered my sayings with the father and son not repenting, and that God himself did not pardon without repentance, to which I did not care to give the reply for fear of exasperating; he did not say anything very discouraging neither, told me there had been no report made yet, as did Mr. Stanhope the morning before, whom I again put in mind of remembering the prisoners, and shall see him again to-morrow morning and know whether any report was made to-day,⁽⁶⁾ for the Duke went to the Regency at the end of the eclipse. Mr. Yates

Lady Georgiana Lenox, daughter of Charles second Duke of Richmond. She was created Baroness Holland of Holland in 1762, and Mr. Fox himself Baron Holland of Foxley in 1763. Their eldest son succeeded his father in 1774. Their second son was Charles James Fox the statesman.

(¹) Charles Radclyffe was brother and heir of James the third Earl of Derwentwater, who was beheaded 24th February 1715-16, when his honours were forfeited. Charles Radclyffe, son of the second Earl, married Charlotte, Countess of Newburgh in her own right, and was beheaded 8th December 1746. His son, James Bartholomew, succeeded to his mother's title and became third Earl of Newburgh, which title is extinct.

(²) Trembley was tutor to the young Duke of Richmond, and a distinguished naturalist. He published several communications to the Royal Society, of which he was elected a member in 1743. He died in 1784, æt. 74.

(³) Charles second Earl of Tankerville K.T. succeeded his father in 1722 and filled several high offices about the Court between the years 1728 and 1740, and died suddenly in 1753.

(⁴) Sir John Germaine Bart. married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Earl of Berkeley, and dying in 1718, devised his large estates to his relict, under whose will they passed to Lord George Sackville, who assumed the surname of Germaine, and in 1782 was created Viscount Sackville. His son became Duke of Dorset. Lady Betty was a disciple of Mr. Whitfield.

(⁵) See p. 392, *Note 5*, ante.

(⁶) On the 11th January 1749 Charles Deacon and William Brettargh, both of the Manchester Regiment, were conveyed from the New Gaol, Southwark, to Gravesend for transportation during life. — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. p. 41.

said he knew Mr. Sharpe's agent, who he thought could give as good intelligence as any about the matter, but I have not seen him since. Mr. Sedgwick is come for a few days from Cambridge. A gentleman of the law who called here ten days ago and paid his money to learn shorthand, having learned Weston's and seeming much pleased with the change, has never been here since, and I don't know his name, for he said he would call again soon, and talked of making a young gentleman clerk to him learn; I wonder what's come of him, for he [has] never been here they tell me. I heard Mr. Whitfield preach in Moorfields, or rather not heard him, for the crowd and sun and wind were too great. I dined with Commodore Townshend⁽¹⁾ (and some other gentlemen at Dr. Harding's this week), who is a bitter enemy to him, caned him in the Indies, and told twenty stories about him that I can't think were all exactly true, but that he might omit or forget something.⁽²⁾ Mr. Salkeld sent his man with a note to me yesterday to sup with him to-morrow night, I han't seen him since we dined at Mr. Vigor's a good while

(1) George, eldest son of Charles the second Viscount Townshend by his second wife Dorothy, sister of Sir Robert Walpole the Minister, was afterwards an Admiral R.N., and died unmarried 1769, æt. 53.

(2) Well and truly did the Poet sing —

"*Leuconomus* (beneath well-sounding Greek
I slur a name a Poet must not speak)
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age;
The very butt of slander, and the blot
For every dart that malice ever shot.
The man that mentioned him at once dismiss'd
All mercy from his lips, and sneer'd and hiss'd.

* * * * *

Now, Truth, perform thine office; waft aside
The curtain drawn by prejudice and pride;
Reveal (the man is dead) to wondering eyes
This more than monster in his proper guise.
He loved the world that hated him; the tear
That dropp'd upon his Bible was sincere; —
Assail'd by scandal and the tongue of strife,
His only answer was a blameless life." &c.

Cowper.

ago. Bob Ord job'd me to-day for not coming to dine with him; amongst a world of folks one cannot suffice the compliments of all. Thank Phebe and Fanny for their shorthand; give my dear love and blessing to the children, and accept of it thyself from thy dearly loving blessing-wisher, &c. — J. B.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Elizabeth Byrom.

Abington's coffeehouse, Saturday night July 23rd, 1748.

Dear Beppy: I had thine yesterday, with a line from mamma, for which I thank you both. I did suppose that the Letter to the Clergy would soon reach you, which Sir L.[owbred?] himself may possibly be the author of for your like stuff reasons, though his performance is mentioned so as one would not guess that he would have described it. The story about the queer dog of a barber you say is a lie; I suppose you mean that Dr. D. did not ordain him, is that it? And what is the story about the some young fellow from London that he sent for? I am glad to hear that both your aunts are better. Sir Tho. Egerton⁽¹⁾ I believe did not celebrate his nuptials here, nor indeed Sir Watkin either publicly, but I had an invitation from him by Mr. Freke his surgeon to dine at his house in Downing Street, Westminster, which I did after making my excuse at Mr. Stanhope's, who had likewise asked me, but the other Mr. Freke insisted on as the only opportunity that would happen, and only a private dinner of the family, father, two sisters, chaplain, &c. Dr. King of Oxford came to us in the afternoon, who said that he had been at Manchester, and commended the town as the finest he had seen in a late progress with a gentleman who came with him. We were very agreeably entertained; the bride is an agreeable lady, the youngest of Mr. Shackerley's three daughters.⁽²⁾ The father knew me, and I re-

⁽¹⁾ Sir Thomas Grey Egerton married in 1748 Catherine, daughter of the Rev. John Copley M.A.

⁽²⁾ See Note 3, p. 442, ante.

membered to have seen him formerly. The recommendation of this lady by Sir Watkin's last [wife] has been confirmed to me very circumstantially, she even left it in writing; so that Sir W. has performed her will and his own, and to be sure that of both his wives at once, which may pass for an obedience somewhat rare and uncommon. Our cos. Walker, I foresaw upon reading of the letter, &c., would gain a title by it, for which he ought to thank the knight his neighbour, if he was his benefactor. Mr. Lewthwaite's brother called on me yesterday and we spent the evening together; I had not heard [of] or expected Mrs. Latus's death; poor cos. Barnington⁽¹⁾ I think your mamma mentioned being ill, and by yours I doubt I shall hear next that we have lost her. I wish that Harrowgate may prove serviceable to your uncle, or anything else that honest Sam &c. can prescribe him. I have not seen Mr. Reynolds but when Mr. Lloyd, Worseley, and I were at dinner with them, when they talked of being to go down soon to Strangeways; I suppose they might intend it, but we Londoners are sometimes obliged by some accidental perplexity of affairs to defer our own inclinations till we can gratify them more properly. I was in some apprehension that I might be forced to remove my quarters somewhither, for on Tuesday morning I was raised by a sudden cry of fire in the house, which a son of our landlady awaked his mother with; and when I got up I found it was the chimney, which, upon the maid kindling of the fire in the coffeeroom below, had flamed out and alarmed the street, who gave notice of it; and fortunately two chimney sweepers were just going by the door that instant, who did immediate service; one of them, in the hurry, was half drowned by buckets of water thrown down from the top of the chimney while he was in it, unknown to them above; there came several firemen soon after, but the danger, proceeding only from the foulness of the chimney, was over without their assistance. Mr. Stanhope being gone out on Friday se'ennight and on Wednesday before dinner, I have heard nothing new about Ch. Deacon. I sent him a copy of the petition representing his case, and some

(¹) See vol. i. p. 33, for a cousin Barrington.

farther urging of my own. By a report not being made, I understand that the judges have made no report, which I am surprised at if that be the real meaning. Last night the mob were huzzaing a coach at Temple Bar, wherein they said there was the Duke of Cumberland. Pray do they intend to take any notice of this Letter to them at your church? Tell mamma that I intend to make the visits she tells me of as soon as I can. I had written to Mr. Thyer by Mr. Sedgewick, but he taking horse sooner than he thought he should yesterday, prevented me.

Will's coffeehouse, nine o'clock:—I called here for to hear if Mr. Page had heard any news about the prisoners, but he had not. Here is one says he saw the Duke last night in the coach, but he was mistaken. Taylor White is here. I wish you all a good night, and all good whatsoever.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

[In Shorthand.]

John Byrom to Miss Dorothy Byrom.

Abington's coffeehouse, August 4th, 1748.

Dear Dolly: I thank thee for thy letter which I received yesterday, and it was very prettily written; as soon as I had read it I thought of sending thee the Latin verses in English, as you are not so book-learned as to understand them in the original. I have not such good hopes as I had of the young boy being set at liberty upon whose account they were made; he has some enemies or other that have represented him in so ill a light that I much question at present if he will meet with the favour which has been so long expected except affairs shall take a turn with relation to him [other] than I was told they had done. But I am not sorry that I have spoken my thoughts about him as opportunity offered; and so I will write thee out the English of the Latin, which I was obliged to pick up from memory, having sent Mr. Thyer my copy; and having only last night and this morning to translate them in, I have been forced to

hurry them along, and must haste to copy them for thee to try [thy] skill in reading.⁽¹⁾

* * * * *

(¹) As the whole of this translation cannot be recovered, the paper being much worn, a few verses only are given as a specimen: —

Applauded Viceroy of Ierne's isle,
Spare, for your brother's sake, the poet's style,
If an extempore address like this
Should aught contain presumptuous or amiss.

Your courteous and obliging turn of mind,
With that of other candid nobles joined,
Has struck an eager Muse, who cannot yet
The joyous talk of yesterday forget.

* * * * *

Three brothers — I shall only speak the truth —
Three brothers, hurried by mere dint of youth,
Incautious youth, were found in arms of late,
And rushing on to their approaching fate.

One, in a fever, sent up to be tried,
From jail to jail delivered over, died;
Sick and distressed, he did not long sustain
The mortal shocks of motion and of pain.

* * * * *

The third was then a little boy at school,
That played the truant from the rod and rule;
The child, to join his brothers, left his book,
And arms, alas! instead of apples took.

Now lies confined the poor unhappy lad —
For death mere pity and mere shame forbad —
Long time confined, and waiting Mercy's bail
Two years amidst the horrors of a jail.

I spare to mention what, from fact appears,
The boy has suffered in these fatal years;
Pity, at least, becomes his iron lot;
What ruin is there that a jail has not?

He is my countryman, my noble lords,
And room for hope your genius affords;
Be truly noble; hear a well meant prayer,
And deign my fellow-citizen to spare.

* * * * *

Think what the sovereign Lord of all demands,
The King of kings, from his vicegerent's hands:
His will, as ages after ages run,
His holy will eternally be done!

And now I think I have written thee a long letter, all of my own composing, but for the use of yourself only, so do not let any copy of it be taken. I will enquire about the book that you mention. Tell your mamma that cousin Chaddocke is come to London; I have called upon him, but I cannot get his brother's paper that I want yet. I should have answered your brother's last post, but had been writing to Mr. Wright of Coventry, and was tired a little with remarking upon his last to me. God bless you all. Amen.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Abington's coffeehouse, Saturday night [Aug. 20, 1748].

My dearest love: I had thine written last Sunday night, which I should have answered last post, but one Mr. Osborne, an acquaintance of cos. Chaddocke's, called on me, and I went to meet him there, and he invited us over the way to a company of his acquaintance, where we passed the evening, and are to dine with Mr. Wilson, one of them, on Monday, when I shall ask him again to let me see his brother's papers, which I have not yet seen. I told Tedy that I had got rid of a sore throat which I had been troubled with, and a feverish disorder; since then it has fallen into my eyes, but is now gone from thence too. I was obliged by promise to go with Dr. Doddridge,⁽¹⁾ a famous dissenting teacher at Northampton, last Monday to Lady Huntington's at Chelsea; he called upon me, and we went by water, and were to have come back in the same boat, but Lady H. invited me to stay dinner, and so I did. We found my friend Charles Stanhope there talking with Mr. Whitfield, of whose being there it seems Lady H. had apprised him. When Mr. Stan-

* * * *

God grant to every nation every bliss,
But, Britons, more especially to this;
Lastly, in health and wealth and peace and rest,
Thy people, parent Manchester, be blest!

(¹) Philip Doddridge, son of the Nonconformist Rector of Shepperton in the county of Middlesex, was born in 1702 and died at Lisbon in 1751; and Byrom was not found wanting in aiding the subscription raised for the support of the widow and children of Doddridge.

hope and Dr. Doddridge were gone, he preached a sermon to the family, and stayed dinner with Mrs. Edwin,⁽¹⁾ the lady that was at Dunnington Park when I made my visit there, and one Colonel Gumley, a convert to the Wesleys, and Mr. Bateman, parson of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, who from a great enemy is likewise come over to them and preaches at their chapel and they at his church. We left him there, and the Colonel, Mr. Whitfield, and myself came away in a coach that Lady H. had provided to London about six o'clock. The Colonel took leave with us at Hyde Park corner, and I went on with Mr. Wh., and the man driving past Abington's, having forgot his orders, I went on with him to his tabernacle, where he had appointed to preach but had like to have been too late, for another preacher was in the pulpit, but not having ended his prayer, Mr. Whitfield went up and gave them a sermon and got me a seat just behind him, and afterwards invited me to supper in his apartments, which are just by, and the other preacher and a gentleman of his acquaintance supped with us; and so I had an opportunity of talking with this remarkable youth, which I never had before, and a very extraordinary one he is. He has left his lady in Georgia, where he does not propose to return till he has visited his friends in Wales, Scotland, Ireland. His tabernacle will hold 3000 people, and it seemed to be quite full. He told Ch. St. that there were a many weak things in his journals which want of experience had occasioned, but he was not ashamed to learn nor to confess his mistakes. He enquired after Mr. Clayton. I have heard nothing of Ch. Deacon, not having been out much this week but to cos. Chad's. We had a great deal of rain of late. My eyes are much better, and I am free from Dr. D's. and Mr. Starkey's complaints. I want to be at home sadly, and yet must be here again in the winter or lose all advantages of shorthand, &c. I promised to call on Mr. Law in my return, so that I shall take that road, but in what sort of conveyance do not yet foresee. I am sorry for my godson's lady, who seemed to be a hearty, handsome body — what is the matter with her? How did they all at Baguley when you went

(¹) See p. 383, *Note 1*, ante.

thither? How do you all do at home? Mr. Thyer said that Tedy never looked better. My only comfort in absence is the news of all your healths and welfare, which I shall be glad to hear of till I shall be so happy as to be witness to it, an enjoyment that I have long longed for, and did not expect to want it for half a year when I journeyed hither.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Old Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Abington's, Saturday night, August 27th 1748.

My dearest love: I thank thee for letting me know that you are well. I take what care I can of myself, and, though I am hardly quite shut⁽¹⁾ of a cold, it does not return with any of those troublesome symptoms which I had before. I do not recollect any sitting with my back to an open window as Mr. Heywood mentions, and I had my cold before I saw him; though it might be worse while he was here, and obliged me to leave him and some other company the night before he went. I am glad that your brother is so well at Harrowgate, and honest Sam too I suppose, and wish Mr. Leigh of Lyme and his lady much joy of their successor, or at least heir apparent.⁽²⁾ This is a marvellous story that thou hast told me of the touching woman at Middlewich;⁽³⁾ what is her name, condition, &c., and what true and attested cures and facts have appeared about her?

(1) Quit.

(2) Probably on the birth of Thomas Peter, son of the Rev. Ashburnham Legh, Rector of Davenham in the county of Chester, who succeeded his uncle at Lyme, and ob. in 1797.

(3) Bridget Bostock was a poor woman who lived at Coppenhall near Middlewich, apparently as a domestic servant with a wage of thirty-five shillings a year. She was aged about sixty-four at this time (1748), and for some years had practised the sanitary art, when suddenly her fame wonderfully increased and her cures were deemed supernatural. Her *modus operandi* was touching the patient with "*fasting spittle*, and *God bless you, with faith*." One writer states that she cured "*ALL diseases*;" another qualified the assertion by saying that there was *one* disease which she would not meddle with. She appears to have been a simple, well-meaning old woman, and "the poor, rich, lame, blind and deaf all pray for her and bless her, *but the doctors*

There was once one Greatbreaks⁽¹⁾ that was reported credibly enough to have done wondrous cures by stroking people in the last age; but this lady is like a queen and cures by touching only. Does she say that it was a gift as that famous stroker did? Eleven hundred folks in a week is a great many to go for to be cured. Her being the seventh daughter of a seventh son is a conceit I suppose that has arisen about her.

Temple Exchange coffeehouse: I call in here to finish my letter, for writing sake as thou sayst; here is Mr. Freke and an elderly gentleman, one Mr. Lindsay, who lives at this coffeehouse, and has just had a legacy of £500 left him by Sir William Keresby of the Temple; he is an old Nonjuror I believe (it is not the clergyman Lindsay). Dr. D. I believe may know them both; I hope he has got rid of his gout, and will manage not to have it again. Charles and Mr. Buersel called on me t'other day, and I dined with them and some other company who were strangers to me this week; I left them in the afternoon to take leave with cos. Chad. who has referred me to his clerk Mr. Lucas, whom I must call on. I am in a quandary what way to take about shorthand affairs, which require a longer continuance here than is agreeable. There are two more new shorthands talked of, one Rowbuck's, and one Tiffin a clergyman at Leicester, whose proposals Whiston, bookseller, has given me. Mr. Weller has returned me a number of receipts that he had disposed of, and given the gentlemen their money again, and those whose money he has he keeps himself and the money too; and he

curse her." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xviii. p. 414. She assumed nothing herself, but believed that her "fasting spittle" and prayers for the sick (if they had faith) would do them good. She received no money for her cures, and was well reported of by the Vicar of Coppenhall.

⁽¹⁾ Valentine Greatrakes was born in Ireland in 1628, and was living in Dublin in 1681. He professed to cure diseases by stroking the part affected, and by prayer; and wonderful cures were reported to be effected. The learned Robert Boyle and Dr. Henry More commended his piety and virtue, and believed in some cures having been performed. Rheumatism and chronic affections of the joints were probably alleviated or cured by friction of the hand; but he, like Bridget Bostock, excited the enthusiasm of his patients, and his success, like hers, was almost incredible. See further the note on Greatrakes in Worthington's *Diary*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 215-17.

has given the alphabet, &c., to those who subscribed, as he says by Mr. (W.) Chad's intimating my consent, which none ever had; and a notion that I had laid my design aside has obliged me to stay and confute it as opportunity offered.

My love, I must conclude, for Mr. Freke and one Mr. Sexton who asked him and me and Mr. Lindsay to dinner lately, desire my company awhile. My dear, I dream on thee often; my being here at present is a dream to me, but I can't help it till some further light spring up by which I may see which way to turn my little matters. Dear, write still that you are all well. So be it.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

Robert Thyer to John Byrom.

Manchester, 28th September 1748.

Dear Sir: I was yesterday desired by Mrs. Byrom to send you some account of Mr. Owen's new book, and at the same time inform you that the family is all well, and that Mrs. Phebe goes on mending. It will be needless to say anything about the first part of my commission, because you must by this time have the book itself at London, as it is said in the titlepage to be sold by G. Robinson at the Golden Lion in Ludgate Street. It is really the most extraordinary piece of controversy that ever I met with, and one may easily guess what all cool-headed people of all sides will think of it; but what his warm friends will say about it 'tis yet too soon to get at the certainty of. The *Manchester Politics*⁽¹⁾ is owned I hear by T.

(1) "*Manchester Politics. A DIALOGUE between Mr. True-blew and Mr. Whiglove; In which the TORY PRINCIPLES are evidently proved to be consistent with the Ancient LAWS and RELIGION of these KINGDOMS. Honi Soit qui Mal y Pense. Quicquid—delirunt—nostri Farrago Libelli. JUV. LONDON: Printed: and sold by J. Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in Ludgate Street. 1748.*"

The following extract is a fair sample of this very scarce and curious tract:—

"A Coffee-House. Mr. TRADELOVE, Mr. TRUE-BLEW.

Enter Mr. WHIGLOVE.

Mr. Tradelove: Mr. Whiglove, your humble Servant, I am glad you are come here: Here is a Gentleman with me has been praising the *Rebels* and *Scots* to so

P[erciva]l Esq. and nobody here seems to question his title to it. My neighbour the old whig says that, as the author has managed it,

great a Degree, that I am glad I have an Opportunity to make my Escape; Gentlemen your Servant.

Mr. W. Your humble Servant. Sir, Pray where do you come from.

Mr. T. MANCHESTER.

Mr. W. What are you.

Mr. T. A TORY.

Mr. W. You may speak out; I assure you, I shall not report it to your Prejudice.

Mr. T. I am a *Manchester* Tory.

Mr. W. Pray speak out, be free.

Mr. T. Sir, all I can say, is, I am a Tory, and a *Manchester* Tory; and if that wont satisfy you, I know not what to say to you.

Mr. W. Well Sir, since you do not chuse to give an Account what you are, or are not able, be pleased to answer me a few Questions.

Mr. T. Yes Sir, as well as I can.

Mr. W. Pray, where was you educated.

Mr. T. Sir, I went to St. G—r—n's School in *Manchester*, afterwards to the honestest Colledge in —.

Mr. W. Very well, what might you learn there pray.

Mr. T. I learned to cry Down with the Rump manfully; to drink Church and King as oft as I dined; to hate all Whigs and Presbyterians cordially; and to believe all Clergy, but Whig Parsons, God's Vicars upon Earth.

Mr. W. You speak well, but pray, Sir, what do you mean by Down with the Rump.

Mr. T. When I explain my meaning to a Church of England Whig, I say, I mean no more than Down with the Presbyterians; to a Presbyterian, I say I mean only Down with the Republicans.

Mr. W. But what is your real Meaning.

Mr. T. Sir, it is not safe to tell what I really mean till Times change.

Mr. W. I assure you, Sir, you may safely tell me; I will not betray you.

Mr. T. Sir, I must own then, I mean Down with the Government.

Mr. W. I am glad to hear you so free: I desire to know what you mean by Church and King.

Mr. T. I mean a certain King that shall be nameless, and that the Clergy may both govern him and all *England*.

Mr. W. And why do you drink it as oft as you dine.

Mr. T. Because should a Whig be in Company he would shew himself, for he would either refuse the Health, or sneakingly drink King and Church, and that would put me and my Friends on our Guard.

Mr. W. And pray, Sir, how do you explain this to a Whig.

Trueblue has the better of the argument. I forgot to mention that Owen never mentions the ballad-maker but once, and that very tran-

Mr. *T.* I tell him, by Church, I mean the Church of *England*, and as for the King, there can be but one.

Mr. *W.* Well turned; and now tell me why you hate the Whigs and Presbyterians so cordially.

Mr. *T.* Because I believe if they had Power, they would pull down the Church of *England*, and murder every honest Tory in the Kingdom.

Mr. *W.* What Reason have you to believe so.

Mr. *T.* Sir, in *Manchester* they would have taken Part of the Old Church to have made a Presbyterian Meeting, and would you believe it, Sir, a certain Dignitary in the Church joined them in it.

Mr. *W.* Surely, Sir, you must mistake.

Mr. *T.* Sir, 'tis impossible; I dare appeal to any Man in *Manchester* for the Truth of it, except the Whigs and Presbyterians themselves; besides I saw the Brick Wall built up myself, but the Dogs were obliged to pull it down again.

Mr. *W.* Why do you think they would murder you all.

Mr. *T.* Why, Sir, do you dispute it; did they not prosecute one of our Constables and another Tradesman, nay even one of our Clergy too, for treasonable Practices: If this be not Proof, I never knew what Proof was, besides they have pilloried one Man for nothing but cursing the Elector of *H—r*; sure these Things are not to be born in a Christian Country, nor we can't bear them, I must own they do not meddle with us when we let them alone, but what then, they prevent us from doing what we would do.

Mr. *W.* Pray what would you do.

Mr. *T.* Hang them every Soul, like a Pack of Heretic, King-killing, rebellious Scoundrels as they are, and give their Estates to the poor abused Clergy.

Mr. *W.* You seem to be in a Passion, pray compose yourself.

Mr. *T.* I can scarcely do it, my Blood rises so at the Villains.

Mr. *W.* I desire to know why you believe all Clergy, but Whig Clergy, God's Vicars on Earth.

Mr. *T.* Believe, Sir, why I believe the Clergy, Sir, and I have heard Numbers of *our Clergy* say so in the Pulpit; in the Pulpit, Sir, where they always speak Truth, and Sir, the Whig Clergy themselves do not pretend to be possessed of any such right; now Sir does it not follow that our Clergy have a Right the Whigs have not; whoever will not allow this as a full Proof is an Atheist, a Deist, or a Presbyterian, which is no Christian I am sure.

Mr. *W.* How, Sir, no Christian.

Mr. *T.* No, Sir, no Presbyterian can be a Christian; for, Sir, their Clergy have no Episcopal Ordination, and consequently have no legal Right to baptize, and if not legally baptized, they cannot be Christians.

siently. I was in hopes by this time to have entertained you with a fricassee of locusts after St. John's receipt lately found in an old

Mr. W. Excellently said, you have made the Case quite plain, but pray Sir, is this the Opinion of your Friends.

Mr. T. Yes, Sir, it is both of the Clergy and Laity, nay I have heard much the same Thing said in a Pulpit.

Mr. W. Well, but the Whig Clergy are episcopally ordained.

Mr. T. Very true, but then, when they turn Whigs they forsake the Church, and those who forsake the Church are Heretics, and Heretics forfeit all Right to administer Sacraments, and even *all Right to the Privileges of Christian Communion*, as Dr. Deacon learnedly says in his *Catechism*.

Mr. W. Methinks you should first prove they forsake the Church, before you condemn them as Heretics.

Mr. T. There is no Occasion, as the said Doctor in Page 408 of his said *Catechism* says, for by his third Proof, viz. *Notoriety of the Fact, they stand liable to Excommunication, Ipso Facto, without any farther Process, or formal Denunciation*. He also says further, *They stood excommunicated, Ipso Facto*.

Mr. W. Well, what do you argue from this.

Mr. T. Sir, I say the Whigs forsake the Church; this is notoriously known to all true Churchmen; therefore they are, *Ipso Facto*, liable to Excommunication; and as they are liable to Excommunication they are, *Ipso Facto*, excommunicated, and have forfeited all Right to the Privileges of the Christian Communion; consequently no Whig is, or can be, a true Bishop, Priest, or even a Christian.

Mr. W. But pray, Sir, have not some of your own Clergy been ordained by Whig Bishops; how are they legally ordained; as you say those Bishops are, *Ipso Facto*, excommunicated.

Mr. T. Why really, Sir, I am concerned to see you raise such trifling Objections. The Doctor says in his *Catechism*, Page 431, "The Case of heretical, schismatical, episcopal Ordinations, is a Point of Discipline which the Church has Power to relax, or extend discretionally, as she judges most expedient and beneficial to her Service; so that she may either reverse, and disannul the Ordination of episcopal Heretics and Schismatics, for Discipline's Sake, and to shew her Resentment of their Errors, or allow them to stand good, and confirm them for her own Sake, to prevent greater Scandals, and to encourage the Unity of the Catholic Faith." Thus you see our Clergy can either allow the Ordination to be good, or no, as is *for the Church's Service*; so if he that is ordained by a Whig Bishop be a Tory, his Ordination is good, but if a Whig, it is invalid per se.

Mr. W. What then is your Opinion of those baptized by Whig Parsons.

Mr. T. I beg, Sir, you would not trouble me with such trifling Questions. Sir, the Doctor gives the self-same Argument in cases of heretical, episcopal Baptism, as I gave in my last Quotation, the Word Baptism being transposed for Ordination. See *Catechism* Page 226.

manuscript. If I continue to write any longer it will cost me a penny to the postboy, and all I have further to say not being worth one farthing, I am, Sir, yours &c. &c. — R. THYER.

To Mr. John Byrom at Abington's coffeehouse,
near Gray's Inn, Holborn, London.

Mr. W. Really, Sir, I perceive you have the Whigs at a very great Advantage.

Mr. T. Yes, Sir, the Clergy have the spiritual Power in their own Hands: They can either christian or unchristian; save, or damn them, just as they please; and we would soon shew them as much, but that the Rascals have the Temporal Power in their Hands, which prevents us treating them as they deserve.

Mr. W. But your Clergy might leave them if they pleased, and excommunicate the Whig Party.

Mr. T. O, Sir, you do not consider the Consequence of such a Step; why, Sir, that would be excommunicating a Number of worthy Clergymen of our Church from good Benefices; for I told you just now, the Dogs have the Temporal Power. No, Sir, your Scheme is too rough, *better temporize a while till Times change*; then your Scheme will do well enough; but at present 'tis too dangerous an Expedient.

Mr. W. You should, at least, protest against any such Proceeding as you think detrimental to the Church.

Mr. T. O Lord, Sir! has not Dr. *Deacon* published an excellent Form of Devotions, and a new Catechism; and does any body but the People in *Lancashire* approve of them; and would it be safe for our beneficed Clergy to write in the Defence of those Books? That would be giving the Whigs an Advantage indeed: No, Sir, as the Lyon sends out his Jackal, so are our Clergy, by the Doctor's Book, trying how the Game lies; if they should have a good Effect, we should have the Advantage; if not, you know we need not own we knew ought of the Matter.

Mr. W. But did the Clergy of the Church of *England* buy these Books; I thought they had been intended for the Use of his own Congregation.

Mr. T. His own Congregation were about twenty before the late Hurry, and now perhaps not above sixty, *that publickly attend him*. Sir, I assure you they were intended for the Use of several of our Church. Why, Sir, the Clergy themselves solicited Subscriptions for him. The first Impression, which I heard was 700, was sold off in a few Weeks; and the second, which was said to be still larger, are said to be almost all disposed of.

Mr. W. And do the Clergy praise these Books.

Mr. T. Do they? — Yes all the honest do; some of your damn'd whiggish Parsons indeed rail at it; even one of them went so far, when an honest Clergyman put his Name down as a Subscriber and sent him the Book, the whiggish Monkey sent it back. Now the honest Gentleman that subscribed for him, took him to be as honest as himself, and the Monkey not content with leaving it on the honest Gentle-

Charles Stanhope to John Byrom.

Thursday morning.

Dear Sir: I cannot be at the Royal Society, but beg you will transcribe out of your shorthand, which I am not sufficiently master of, the account you read to the company last night at Rothmell's of the usage the young Pretender met with from the French when they seized him, with the circumstances attending it, in which you will oblige your very humble servant — C. STANHOPE.

My servant will wait or call again for it as you shall direct him.

To Dr. Byrom.

[In shorthand.]

Account of the Arrest of Prince Charles.⁽¹⁾

Tuesday the 10th of December, N. S.⁽²⁾ The Prince having dined at home with about thirty at his table, mostly of his own people, was never seen more gay and easy, and proposed after dinner to walk in the Tuilleries, where several of his company followed him, particularly two of his Scots chiefs, one of which spoke to him in the morning concerning the reports that were

man's Hands, has even declared he thought subscribing for such a Book, an encouragement of Heresy; did you ever hear of such a Pragmatical Rascal.

Mr. W. I fancy, Sir, many of your Clergy will not follow his Example.

Mr. T. No, Thanks to their good Education at the University, they have most of them more generous Principles; but now I think of it, let us have one Glass to drink the Clergy's Health.

Mr. W. I will not refuse drinking a Glass of Wine with you.

Mr. T. Sir, here is all the honest Clergy's Health."

Manchester Politics, pp. 3-13.

⁽¹⁾ The journals of the day stated that the young Pretender, persisting in his humour not to comply with his most Christian majesty's desires and even repeated commands to depart out of his kingdom, was seized and sent away by force. The whig Protestants advised the young Prince to follow the example of his brother, and take holy orders, and one of these poets sang —

"The church will receive thee in which both were nurst,
And though senior his cap, right divine puts thee first;
To lord it o'er kings thou hast reason to hope,
And may *Louis* beware when thou com'st to be POPE."

⁽²⁾ Monday is the day named in the account of this affair which is given at the end of the second volume of the *Lockhart Papers*.

a-going that he was certainly to be taken up one of these days, and as the report went, it was to be at his own house or in the public gardens, and begged of him to give him and the rest of his subjects orders; but he smiled and said, I have heard these reports for some time, but I believe there is nothing in them.

It coming on rain while he walked, he left the Tuilleries, and at stepping into his coach the two chiefs spoke to him again and told him if he had a mind to make a Bender of it, as the king of Sweden, he would not want assistance; at which he thanked them, but bid them not be uneasy. He returned home, where he stayed about half an hour, and then took his coach and went to the opera, attended by Sir James Harrington and Colonel Goring, Englishmen, and Mr. Sheridan, an Irish[man]. When the coach came to the cul-de-sac, the Prince, alighting as usual, was seized in the moment by a number of the sergeants of the French bl. guards, who shut the opera door before him and the barrier behind him, while one of them insolently broke his sword in the scabbard, while two others took the little pistols out of his side pockets, then carrying him without his feet touching the ground to a room in the Palais Royal, where the Major of the French Guards, Marquis de Vaudreuil, told him he had the King of France's orders. All who took him were disguised in whitish coloured clothes such as footmen out of livery wear. The Prince was in the Palais Royal bound with a rope like a common criminal and put into a remise coach, the Major and two Captains going with him, and French soldiers mounting behind with screwed bayonets. The Prince then said, "Gentlemen, this is but a dirty office you are engaged in; I suppose I am straight on my way to Hanover?" They told him he was going to Vincennes castle, where as soon as he arrived, he said to the Governor, Marquis de Chatelet, "I used to come as your friend, Governor, but now I am your prisoner, I hope that you will salute me though I cannot come to you." The Governor, who was his very great friend, stormed like a lion, and ran and unbound him, but was obliged to obey orders and put him in that part of the Castle called the dungeon, a little dark hole in a place in the high tower, two captains guards within his room, and

four sentries at his door. When he came into this miserable place he said it was not quite so good as his bothies in the Highland hills. He threw himself upon the bed, but would not be prevailed upon to throw off his clothes nor to eat or drink anything that night, and was frequently heard to say to himself, "O my faithful mountaineers!" Next day he ate nothing but a little soup, but on Thursday he dined, and was taken ill after it with a violent vomiting, &c., but was perfectly well next day. He made the captains always eat with him, and spoke to them about the war, &c., and behaved with such a noble and manly courage that he so charmed the hearts of his guards that they were ready to cry when they spoke of him, and several swore they would give up their commissions rather than mount guard there any more.

He parted from Vincennes on Sunday morning by daybreak, where is not known; but it is said the musketeers had orders to guard him to Pont Beauvoisin on the frontiers, a place belonging half to Savoy and half to France, where it is said he will be left to go where he pleases.

The gentlemen who were in the coach with the Prince going to the opera, were put in separate hackney coaches and carried to the Bastille; his footmen went the same road, one of which, Angus Macdonald, the only Scotchman there, fired a pistol at one of the men who took the Prince.

Mr. Alexander Macleod and Stewart of Ardshiel were playing at backgammon in the Prince's house, Sir Davie Murray, &c., looking on, when the guards came to the house, and they were seized also and sent to the Bastille, as was the cook, washerwoman, and everybody within that door. Mr. Stafford, an Irish gentleman, who dined abroad, and knowing nothing of the matter, was by the guards let into the court and sent the same road with the rest. It would appear they had feared a mob, for there were guards all from the Prince's house to the Pont Royal, and above two thousand men in arms there and about the opera, and six regiments ready at call. A great many French gentlemen were put into the Bastille that night and next day for speaking of it; the people got all up in the opera

to come out, but the doors were shut; everybody high and low were in tears, and I could not imagine the French were so fond of anything but their own king. The Count de Biron went from the Palais Royal to Court that night, and when the news was told, the Queen, the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and all the Madams, threw down their knives, and there was not one word spoke.

You may depend upon the truth of this paper, because I had it from the Governor of Vincennes and others of absolute credit, though it is treason now to say that he was tied or ill-used.

John Byrom to Miss Byrom.

Prince Charles's Birth Day, 1748.⁽¹⁾

Dear Beppy: I thank thee for the pleasure of hearing from thee, and the good news of all your healths; I wish I could be able to acquaint Dr. Willmot with the success of his medicines. If your uncle would not believe the *St. James's Evening Post*, he will be as much puzzled with the long account which the public papers have taken from the *Hague Gazette*. I thought to have sent you an account of that affair that I took in shorthand from a private copy before the public one appeared; but it not being known with any certainty where or who it came from to the printer of *Old England*, who gave it to him from whom I transcribed it, I therefore forbore to trouble you with it. It is in the main a confirmation of the young P.'s arrest, imprisonment, &c. The three persons in the coach with him, it says, were Sir James Harrington, Col. Goring, and Mr. Sheridan; it magnifies the ill usage of the P. and the goodness of his behaviour, being writ I suppose by some friend of his, or else facts much the same. It says that Angus Macdonald, the only Scots footman by, fired a pistol at one of the men that took the P.; that Sir Alex. Macleod and Stewart of Ardsheil were playing at backgammon at the P.'s, and Sir Davie Murray (so it calls him) &c. were looking on, when the guards came and took them to the

⁽¹⁾ Born November 30th 1720, married the Princess Stohlberg, and died at Rome s.p.l. January 31st 1788. He was buried in the church of Frescati, of which city his brother, the Cardinal York, was Bishop.

Bastille; that it should appear by the number of guards, soldiers (two thousand) and regiments (six) within call, that a mob was apprehended; that Count de Biron going to tell the news to the Dauphin, Dauphiness, and Madams (Mesdames it would say, for it is spelt and translated like some foreigner Englishman's doing) they dropped their knives and were all struck dumb; it says that the account is true, and had from the Governor of Vincennes and others of absolute credit. He concludes it, "It is treason now (in Paris) to say that he was tied (with a rope it says) or ill-used." This is the purport of that paper, which my paper here would not hold without the help of shorthand. I remember this day se'nnight the gentleman at Abington's told me that the young Pretender was dead by his own act, &c., that couriers were gone with the news to all courts concerned, and this news came from ours; I told 'em it was a Newton Hunt story⁽¹⁾ that had nothing in it, but I now suppose it arose from some perversion of the story of his arrest, bondage, and boundage, &c.

I received the black stockings, and have them on to-day on finding my bought ones defective, and they do much better than I expected from looking at them and experience of those I brought up. My coat also, for all your laughing, looks better than it did, saving the buttonholes, which are a little too much brightened up in proportion by the operation they have undergone. Mr. Nanny,⁽²⁾ a Welsh gentleman, told me that he had heard that Ch. Deacon was set at liberty; but such a world of false reports have gone about him that I can only wish that this may prove true. My scholar the Master of Peterhouse (Whalley)³ being dead, Mr. Young of Trinity and Green of St. John's have each three votes apiece; the V. Chancellor,⁽⁴⁾ who has the decisive one, being applied to, is said to have told 'em that

(¹) Newton in the Willows in Lancashire, where a petty assault, afterwards detailed, had been transformed into a political movement, and had been noticed in the London journals.

(²) See vol. i. part ii. p. 578, *Note 1*.

(³) See vol. ii. part i. p. 39, *Note 2*.

(⁴) Thomas Chapman D.D. Vice Chancellor 1748, Master of Magdalen College 1747, ob. 1760.

they must apply higher to his superior friends. Dr. Taylor, my Vice-Master, I am told puts up for Master of Peterhouse, having six voices out of thirteen.⁽¹⁾ The weather is here unusually warm yet. Having no letter since thine, I flatter myself that your uncle is no worse at least. I am glad and congratulate the deputy on his good fortune on Mrs. L's. being so kind to her husband's relations. Dear Beppy, good night, and my hearty love and blessing to all my dear beloved family.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Temple Exchange coffeehouse, Saturday night,
3rd Dec. 1748.

My dear love: I came hither from Mr. Booth's, who called on me to go to dinner there and to deliver a shorthand answer to a gentleman of the Temple, and here I find Mr. Patten of Warrington,⁽²⁾ whom I have left, with some other gentlemen, to salute thee and thank thee for thy letter received yesterday, which was very acceptable.

I did see the Master of Pit.[sligo]⁽³⁾ when he was here; we passed an evening together, only us two, to our mutual satisfaction;

⁽¹⁾ And yet he was not elected, as Whalley's successor was Edmund Keene D.D. successively Bishop of Chester (1752) and Ely (1770). He ob. 1781.

⁽²⁾ Thomas, son and heir of Thomas Patten Esq. and of his wife Margaret, daughter of Jonathan Blackburne of Orford Esq. He was born in 1690, and ob. in 1772, leaving issue a daughter, the wife of Sir Richard Brooke Bart., and a son and successor, Lieut. Col. Thomas Patten of Bank Hall, High Sheriff of Lancashire (1773) and of Cheshire 1775.

⁽³⁾ See p. 391, *Note 3*, ante. The following interesting letter was written by the Master of Pitsligo at a later date:—

"Sir: There has been a long silence between us, I believe of a year. I would have wrote to you from Scotland, but that I waited till I could be able to give you some news concerning the affair that has brought me twice to London, I mean the attempt to get the attainder of L. P. reduced on the head of a misnomer. But the House of Peers have given it against us, and found him duly attainted. I'm thinking and taking advice what to do next, and believe I shall apply in the way of petition in

he made me a present of a book written by his father. I have enquired about Lord Lempster, but not lately, because I could hear

favour of Lady P. and myself, since we are cut out in point of law. Since I wrote you last my state has changed considerably for the better in one important article, I have got a very valuable female friend to take her chance with me in life, indifferent as my prospect at present seems. I heard lately that an old friend was pretty well. When you see Dr. Byrom, pray make my respectful compliments. It comes just now in my head, when I was in London about this time twelvemonth, or perhaps later, I was told that a person had called for me when I was gone abroad, and left his name, Mr. Walker of Manchester: was you in town then, or have our people made a mistake? The British coffeehouse near Charing Cross is still where my letters are taken in. Dear Sir, yours ever — JOHN FORBES.

London, Feb. 19th 1750-1.

To Mr. John Walker, at his house in Deansgate, Manchester."

Mr. John Walker, the correspondent here addressed, has several times occurred in these "Remains" — see vol. i. part ii. p. 558; vol. ii. part i. pp. 127, 150. A letter to him from his correspondent T. L. Wetstein, which was omitted under its proper date, is here inserted for its value in illustration of some of the mystical writers: —

"Dear Sir, worthy friend and brother in Him who is our eldest brother and our head! — To answer your queries, I must tell you that we are not acquainted with any body in Scotland but my Lord P. and one Mr. William Monro bookseller at Edinburgh, who have been here; also Mr. Forbes, brother of my Lord Forbes, who have also been here: my Lord died a few years ago. Dr. George Garden, who has wrote and published the Apology for A. B. was with a friend or two retired in a country place called Rosarty, but at the time of the last rebellion was obliged to retire in this country, and afterwards returned to his native place again and died there; and his brother, who had been Professor at Aberdeen, and published a little treatise of Comparative Theology, printed at London, is dead also. We have no other acquaintance of them. I believe they are fully provided of A. B.'s writings since they caused them to be printed, being obliged to take one third of every impression for to encourage the printer. I know at present nobody in all England who may have these writings except one Mr. Thomas Carpenter, at the Sun in Friday Street near Cheapside, be alive, a very well-natured person. I have been formerly acquainted with those of the Philadelphian Society, but I think they are most or all dead; there were some very spiritual among them. I would fain know whether Mr. Roach, a clergyman of the Church of England, who was among them, be alive, having heard nothing of his death, nor do I know his dwelling place. It may be Mrs. Mary Immunes at the Carved Crown in Fetter Lane, near Bond's stables in London, may have his direction or give some notice of him; she is a very godly and spiritual woman, who has gone through great trials. If this comes in time to your hands before you leave London, it will be a work of charity to see her, to give her my hearty love-greeting enquiring how she doth. The last letter I had from her was of the 28th March 1726. Our

nothing very certain about his motions, but shall enquire again. I have not seen Captain Wynne; he broke his leg in Flanders, and is since come over, they say. I dined with lawyer Leigh the other day, the last of the term.

When Mr. Forbes or Captain Robinson waits on me I shall receive them very graciously. I could not possibly partake of Mr.

friend and correspondent Dr. James Keith dying about that time, I was unwilling to put her to charges of postage, and ever since knew of no friend who went to London. If you had sent me your direction I would have directed this to London; it may be the good woman died since that time, she went through great exercises. In our quarters here there is but here and there one that loves the writings of A. B., and in this town there is but one family of a man and woman besides ours. There are several well meaning people with whom we are acquainted, but few among them who read these writings. In France, Germany, Switzerland, Sweadland, I think there are two or three everywhere. The seed is sown, the Lord in its time will give its increase. God is no acceptor of persons; but those that fear God and work righteousness are acceptable by Him. This is the great rule of all mankind. The duty of all Christians, or at least of those that will follow their Head and Lord, is to walk in His presence, begging continually His grace and assistance for to live piously, soberly and righteously: to that end He came into the world to teach us. All things contrary to this rule are certainly damageable and hurtful.

"As to my friend's intention of leaving off his business, we can give no advice neither for nor against it, for want of true light. The surest way and means will be to cast ourselves entirely on the Lord's holy and all-wise providence. It is His providence which has given him that present employ, in which there is not wanting an opportunity to exercise charity, by employing poor families, by which they get their bread and livelihood. The main thing is to do the will of God; a lawful employ is not against it. Charity is only required in all our actions, observing our interior call. My friend's intention being upright and sincere, I do not doubt the same holy providence who has put him in the employ will give him the graces required, when asked for, to get through, and, when needful, to get it cast off. Changes of employ or places make us no better, provided our employ be not sinful. We often are weary of a burden: when we throw it off by our own choice we seldom meet with an easier; but when the Son makes us free we be free indeed. Thus let us be patient, waiting its own time. He will do it. He will certainly do it. In this expectation we greet you heartily in the love-embraces of our Lord and Master; especially Mr. Homfeld. I remain yours in our Lord J. C. — T. L. WETSTEIN.

"Is our friend married?"

Reinsburg near Leyden, this 26th of February 1735.
To Mr. John Walker, at the lower end of Deansgate,
in Manchester in Lancashire."

Dawson's wager. St. Andrew⁽¹⁾ being the feast of us royal philosophers, we had near one hundred at dinner; the Dukes of Devonshire, Mountague, Richmond, and divers other lordly virtuosos amongst them. I told Dr. Stukeley there of Mr. Trafford's being in town; he had seen him, but they could not agree matters.

This Newton Hunt affair makes a great noise, and a great many lies. Tedy's account and Charles Downes's⁽²⁾ differ; pray let me know the truth, if you can know it yourselves.

The Duke of Somerset⁽³⁾ is really dead at last. Mr. P.[rince] C.[harles] left Paris on Sunday last; he said they might turn him out if they would, and say that a descendant of Henry the Fourth was turned out of France.

Sir John Barnard they say is to make a motion shortly for giving up Gibraltar and Port Mahon for an equivalent. I heard a gentleman last night saying that Mr. Marton,⁽⁴⁾ member for Lancaster, his friend were stoned at Newton, and urged to drink the Pretender's health, but drew their pistols and made their way through the Jack-about mob.

My dearly beloved, I wish thee and the children good night.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Green Park, 7 o'clock, Thursday night,
before Squib Castle.

My dearest love: Walking about here to see sights, I have retired

(¹) The annual meeting of the president and fellows of the Royal Society is still held, according to their charter, on St. Andrew's Day.

(²) See p. 416, *Note 2 ante*.

(³) Charles Seymour sixth Duke of Somerset K.G., commonly called THE PROUD DUKE OF SOMERSET, married first Lady Elizabeth Percy, sole heiress of the Percys (being her third husband), and secondly Lady Charlotte Finch, daughter of Daniel Earl of Winchilsea. His Grace ob. in 1748, æt. 87, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, who in the following year was created Earl of Northumberland, with remainder, in default of issue male, to his son-in-law Sir Hugh Smithson, ancestor of the present Duke of Northumberland.

(⁴) Edward, son and heir of Oliver Marton of Capernwray Hall Esq., Recorder of Lancaster, was returned M.P. for that borough in 1745, and in 1758 dying unmarried he was succeeded by his brother, the Rev. Oliver Marton LL.B. Vicar (and Patron) of Lancaster.

to a stump of a tree to write a line to thee lest anything should happen to prevent me by and by. I received all the papers yesterday, and went with them to Mrs. Meredith's, but none of the family were or would be within that evening; and indeed, till this day is over, there is no troubling anybody with business — they are all mad with thanksgivings, Venetian jubilees, Italian fireworks, and German pageantry. I have before my eyes such a concourse of people as to be sure I never have or shall see again, except we should have a Peace without a vowel. The building erected on this occasion is indeed extremely neat and pretty and grand to look at, and a world of fireworks placed in an order that promises a most amazing scene when it is to be in full display. His Majesty and other great folks have been walking to see the machinery before the Queen's Library; it is all railed about there, where the lords, ladies, commons, &c. are sat under scaffolding, and seem to be under confinement in comparison of us mobility, who enjoy the free air and walks here.

It has been a very hot day, but there is a dark overcast of cloudiness which may possibly turn to rain, which occasions some of better habits to think of retiring; and while I am now writing it spits a little and grows into a menacing appearance of rain, which, if it pass not over, will disappoint expectations. My intention, if it be fair, is to gain a post under one of the trees in St. James's Park, where the fireworks are in front, and where the stail⁽¹⁾ of a rocket, if it should fall, cannot but be hindered by the branches from doing any mischief to them who are sheltered under them, so I shall now draw away to be ready for near shelter from either watery or fiery rain.

11 o'clock: all over, and somewhat in a hurry, by an accidental fire at one of the ends of the building, which, whether it be extinguished I know not, for I left it in an ambiguous condition that I might finish my letter, which otherwise I could not have done. I saw every fine show in front, and I believe no mischief was done by the rockets, though some pieces of above one pound and a half fell here and there — some the next tree to my station, and being on the

(1) i.e. the "stele," or handle; an old Lancashire word, still in use. See Halliwell *in voce*.

watch I perceived one fall, and after a tug with four or five competitors I carried it off.

My dear, I shall be too late if I don't conclude; I am all of a sweat with an hasty walk for time to write; and now I'll take some refreshment and drink all your healths.

J. Meredith to John Byrom.

Wednesday.

Sir: I was this evening at Mr. Crew's,⁽¹⁾ where I met Mr. Shuttleworth.⁽²⁾ I mentioned to him the late affair at Manchester, and repeated as near as I could the account in your letter. Mr. Shuttleworth expatiated a good deal upon the wisdom of treating the first trading town in the kingdom in the manner that had been, and said if this last insult was properly represented to him he would make a complaint in parliament, &c. I think I cannot more manifest my zeal for that honest and significant town than by putting this conversation under your direction; if you send me a copy of your account it will put a stop to the false one, but this as you judge proper. I desire the favour of you to procure me the collection of Chester and Manchester Journals, which was advertised; the above gentleman desired me, and I know not where they are sold. I am, Sir, with great respect, your most humble servant — J. MEREDITH.

To Dr. Byrom.

[The shorthand on the back of the note signed Meredith.]

I have enclosed the letter which I received from Manchester, and will get you the collection of Journals. I think they are sold at M. Cooper's, a shop in Paternoster Row.

⁽¹⁾ John Crewe of Crewe in the county of Chester Esq. represented the county of Chester in the parliaments of 1734, 1741 and 1747. He died in 1752, leaving by his wife Anne, daughter of Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe in the county of Lancaster Esq. M.P., John, his successor, created Baron Crewe of Crewe in 1806.

⁽²⁾ Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe Esq. M.P., died in December 1748. See vol. i. part ii. p. 454 *Note 1.*

I hear that Mr. Wagstaff⁽¹⁾ is bringing his action against Major Johnstone and another officer, but in what shape I know not. If I have any further account of the hurries of our town I will communicate them to you. It is exceeding kind in you to interpose in our favour; and I dare say I speak the general sense of the town when I thank you heartily, and Mr. Shuttleworth, who is so ready to act, as usual, like a true representative of his countrymen. Your very much obliged humble servant — J. BYROM.

Edward Byrom to John Byrom.

Manchester, December 19th, 1748.

Honoured Sir: Upon the receipt of yours last post concerning the hunt at Newton, which it seems has been represented amongst the Londoners in a false light, I told Dr. Hall⁽²⁾ of it, who was going to Heaton, so I went along with him that I might be more certainly informed of every particular circumstance. There were only Sir Thomas Egerton and Mr. Gwilym at Heaton the two chief gentlemen that were concerned at the hunt, and consequently the properest persons to have an account from. I told 'em what was said at London; I read the chief contents of your letters, at which they were much surprised (as every body is) to hear such downright lies set abroad. Whereupon the two gentlemen took pen and ink, and have wrote an exact account of all they know about it, a true copy of which I have here enclosed from the original, which I have by me, from under their own hands, and which was wrote in my presence. They are ready, if occasion be, to make affidavits to the truth of it, and they have set down every thing that they could then recollect that happened during the hunt.

As some false accounts have appeared in print, it would be necessary to have them contradicted in some of the London papers. The gentlemen at Heaton would be very glad if you would be so kind as to draw the particulars from their account now sent you, and word

(¹) See vol. ii. part i. p. 60 *Note* 2. The Wagstaffes of Manchester were zealous adherents of Prince Charles, and relatives of Mr. Thyer, Byrom's friend and correspondent.

(²) See p. 409 *Note* 1 ante.

it in a proper manner, with a preamble setting forth that several false reports had been raised concerning the hunt, and that this was come to hand from persons of undoubted character who were at the meeting. There are some particulars that you may tell your friends which may be proper for me to let you know; one is, that in the account here sent mention is made of two gentlemen going to Mr. Legh Master,⁽¹⁾ a neighbouring justice, for assistance. Now, if any should contradict the answer which Mr. Master made, and not believe it, tell them that the two gentlemen who went to him upon that errand were Sir Thomas Grey Egerton Bart. and Robert Gwilym Esq., who received those very words from his own mouth.

As to Mr. Marton being attacked, you will see by the account drawn up who were the rioters, viz., the mob from Wigan, who are all very zealous for the Government, and yet it's well known they stopped several loyal gentlemen that very day under pretence of their being Jackabouts, — amongst the rest Mr. Marton.

Amongst the healths drank you will find the lady patroness, which some people will perhaps think has some mystical meaning. Now to set that right you must know that at all the great hunts in the country there is a lady near the place called patroness, whose health is drank after dinner, so the lady now meant was Miss Hilton of Preston. Mr. Beaumont of Yorkshire,⁽²⁾ nor any person from that part were there; the company consisted of only the neighbouring gentlemen. I cannot learn any other particulars about the man that died than that he was one that was always in a mob at the election or any other time, and that the clergyman who buried him said that when he was hurt, or I suppose knocked down, there was a large stone in his hand and two brick stones in his pocket. The gentle-

(1) See vol. ii. part i. p. 252 *Note 2*.

(2) Richard Beaumont of Whitley Beaumont in the county of York Esq. married first Judith, daughter of Thomas Ramsden of Crowston near Halifax Esq., by whom he had no issue, and secondly Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of William Holte of Grizzlehurst in the county of Lancaster and of Little Mitton Hall near Whalley Esq. Dying in 1764 he was succeeded by his son Richard Henry Beaumont Esq., a distinguished antiquary.

men never intended to make any disturbance, nor would they let their servants. Not one gentleman there in a plaid waistcoat. I have now given you the best account that can be got, and hope that it will satisfy you, being nothing but plain truth. — I am, honoured Sir, your dutiful son, — EDWD. BYROM.

Sunday evening the 20th of November: the gentlemen met at Newton; no disturbance happened that evening.

Monday the 21st: they went a hunting; when upon the field a lad with a plaid ribbon round his hat was questioned upon the same by a countryman, and a battle ensued between 'em, which ended without any farther disturbance; after dinner the country people begun fighting in the street, but not a gentleman stirred out of the room, or concerned himself the whole night.

Tuesday the 22nd: they went a hunting and no disturbance happened upon the field, but after dinner the mob began to be very rough with throwing in stones into the windows for a considerable time without any manner of provocation; complaints were brought in to the gentlemen several times, but no one stirred out of the room; but about eight o'clock at night several stones came into the room where the gentlemen were, upon which they were obliged to turn out or be knocked on the head, and several of the rioters were brought into the room, and though the facts were proved upon them they were not only pardoned but had money given to them to go home and not be guilty of the like again.

Wednesday the 23rd: they hunted without any bustle on the field; after dinner the like disturbance ensued as above, and the gentlemen were obliged to go out in the same manner, and brought in several rioters as they did the day before.

N.B. The above morning several of the principal gentlemen met to consult of the properest measures for keeping the peace. Two of them went to Mr. Master, a neighbouring justice, to take his advice therein and desire his assistance; he told 'em it was a scandalous meeting, and his advice was to repel force by force, and this was all he could do or say. Now see the measures the gentlemen took for

preserving the peace: the constables of the town were not only ordered to attend but all the halberdmen, notwithstanding which most of the windows were broken to pieces before a gentleman stirred out.

Thursday the 24th: the gentlemen went a hunting, when no disturbance happened, and about eleven in the morning they went off the field to their own homes, none returning to Newton but some few whose road it was, and I hear none made any stay there; so that as this was the day Mr. Marton was attacked, it is well known to be the very mob from Wigan that is so remarkably described in the "St. James's Evening Post."

Mem.—All the healths that were drunk by the gentlemen were—Prosperity to the Meeting, The Lady Patroness, and afterwards private gentlemen's healths.

Not a servant was allowed to stir out of the room any one night till the gentlemen were obliged to do the same.

Not any such thing as a cockade ever seen or heard of during the whole meeting.

As this is the real matter of fact, and the gentlemen meant no other than to be innocently merry in the diversion the season of the year afforded, it was a matter of surprise to each particular gentleman so unexpectedly to meet with so extraordinary a treatment.

1749.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Tuesday night, January 3rd, 1748-9.

My dearest love: I had thine of Christmas-day at night, and Mr. Walford's and Tedy's to Mr. Wilkinson and Pell enclosed, which I went next day into the city to deliver, and called at cousin Chad-docke's, where he had a number of gentlemen at dinner upon some particular occasion, so I did not go up; and it being a raw rainy day, and having got a little cold before, I was taken ill so that I could not go into Southwark to enquire after Charles Deacon as I had thought of, nor have I had any opportunity since, nor can I learn anything of the truth or falsehood of the report of his going abroad.⁽¹⁾ The weather has been still rainy and myself indisposed,

⁽¹⁾ He was transported. See p. 451 ante, Note 6.

but I hope to escape any worse consequences than a mere cold that obliges me to be careful.

As to the account of the Newton hunt, if it be thought proper (as I should think it would) to be sent to the "London Evening" in the form of a letter, &c., I shall do it upon these materials, (to which any other, particularly with relation to the mob's abuse of the house where the hunters met, may be added,) when the holidays are over, for till then the newspaper would not be so much taken notice of, so let me know this. A gentleman last night at Abington's mentioned Mr. O—n's pamphlet about the Master Tool,⁽¹⁾ &c., which they had thoughts of subscribing for, as the custom is for pamphlets, but would be determined by me, so I took the book, and wrote my name first to the order for it, that they might satisfy their curiosity. Beppy forgot to mention oysters, and myself, in whose head it had often run till the time came, forgot it too, so desire that she will appoint another birth-day for them, and I'll send them; however, I wish her from Hanover here all the compliments due to a beloved child upon the occasion. I have been with Mr. Foxley (and Patten) since he came from Manchester; they sent for me one night from this coffeehouse (Temple Exchange) to Chancery Lane. My service to Mrs. Bland; I have not seen Mr. Davie lately, but I believe he is in town very well, as he was when I saw him at Tom's coffeehouse in Devereux Court, where I have not been of late; I am to dine with Mr. Meredith to-morrow. No time is set for receiving the Oxford Address.⁽²⁾ The New Year's Ode,

(¹) Mr. Owen, the Presbyterian minister of Blackwater Chapel, Rochdale, styled Dr. Byrom "the Master Tool of the faction," *i.e.* of the nonjurors and tories.

(²) The congratulatory address of the chancellor, masters and scholars of the University of Oxford to the King on the restoration of peace, which passed the Convocation House on the 28th December 1748, and was distinguished by its loyalty and good feeling, was rejected, owing to the supposed disaffection of the University and the King having forgotten — if he ever knew — that Oxford had refused to obey the arbitrary command of James II. On this incident the following epigram was written:

"Oxford! I grieve at heart your hapless lot,
Your virtue, zeal, and loyalty forgot:
In this a strange absurdity there seems;
GEORGE can't be angry that you turn'd out JAMES!"

which was performed on Saturday before me and others by way of rehearsal, was not performed at Court at all; his Majesty is said to have been out of humour at both Address and Ode. My dear girl, happy, happy, happy new years to thee and thine for ever. Pray is Mr. Lewthwaite amongst you yet? I have been asked about the Chester papers, are they to come out?

Robert Thyer to John Byrom.

Manchester, 21st January, 1748-9.

Dear Sir: The Chester Papers are at length published,⁽¹⁾ but I cannot direct you how to meet with the book at London, as I don't find that they are sold by any bookseller there. There is a preface, not very long, to give some account of the work and of the reasons for publishing it. The appendix talked of was thought better to be omitted by those whose concern it chiefly was. The reasons assigned were, the things being quite dead, the ridiculousness of the story in itself, and the inconvenience that might attend the communicating the affair to a gentleman that was not very likely to make a secret of people's names.

I should have wrote to you sooner, but have been quite taken up of

(1) "MANCHESTER VINDICATED: Being a compleat COLLECTION of the PAPERS lately published in Defence of that TOWN, in the *Chester Courant*. Together with all those on the other Side of the QUESTION, Printed in the *Manchester Magazine* or elsewhere, which are answered in the said *Chester Courant*."

Inclita Brundusium, cui jam convicia solæ

Ignavos homines ingeminare juvat,

Sustinuit cunctas clarissima Villa procellas,

Rupibus haud impar stabilitate suis.

Vos, quibus antiquæ placuit, constantia Matris,

Hæc mea suavisonæ jungite verba Lyræ —

Dum totam peteret Rabies Fanatica gentem,

Solam non potuit RUMPERE Brundusium.

Anonym. Author. ex vet. Cod. M.S.

CHESTER: Printed by and for ELIZ. ADAMS. MDCCXLIX."

12mo, 324 pages, exclusive of preface and table. This very interesting collection of pieces in prose and verse was formed almost entirely from Byrom's own contributions to the *Chester Courant*.

late with furnishing Dr. Newton,⁽¹⁾ at his request, with some notes, if they deserve the name, for his edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. I sent him some time ago an interleaved Milton of mine with some passages which I had picked up from Spenser and my favourite Italians, that I thought tended to illustrate that part; but it was unfortunately lost by a careless carrier, so that I have been forced to turn over my books again to recover as many of them as in so great a hurry I could. Dr. Newton was an entire stranger to me, but having been informed through Lawyer Leigh that I had these things by me, wrote to beg that I would communicate them to him, upon which I sent him the book as I have already mentioned. The work was just gone to the press when he first applied to me, which, with the long delay occasioned by the loss of my book, prevented his inserting all those which related to the first five or six books in the body of the performance, but he is pleased to think them worth publishing with some additional ones of his own by way of appendix. We have no news stirring here.

Mr. Wilcoxon is dead without will, and thereby half his personalty absolutely, with a third of his land for life, falls to the young widow's share. The other half of the money will be divided betwixt Mrs.

(1) The work was published in two volumes quarto 1749, and Bishop Newton thus mentions Thyer's assistance in the preface to *Paradise Lost*:—"Mr. Thyer, the librarian of Manchester, I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but by his writings I am convinced that he must be a man of great learning and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*, but he was very ready to communicate them, and for the greater dispatch sent me his interleaved Milton, wherein his remarks were written, but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book, through the negligence of the carrier, was dropt upon the road, and cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer, however, hath had the goodness to endeavour to repair the loss to me and to the public by writing what he could recollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of remarks almost every post for several weeks together. It is unnecessary to say anything in their commendation; they will sufficiently recommend themselves." In Newton's preface to the *Paradise Regained* he observes—"I am obliged to Mr. Thyer for the continuation of his friendly assistance, and the reader will find the same good sense and learning and ingenuity in these as in his former remarks upon the *Paradise Lost*." Thyer's name is subjoined to each of the excellent notes contributed by him.

Massey, as the representative of one sister, and the Rhodeses and Mrs. Barlow of the other. The land, except the widow's thirds for life, will be equally shared betwixt Mrs. Massey and Tom Rhodes. Dr. Deacon is very well and desires his compliments to you. I promised your daughter to have written by last post, and had directions to acquaint you that they were all well, except Mrs. Byrom's being slightly indisposed with a cold. Yours, &c.

To Mr. John Byrom, Abington's coffeehouse,
near Gray's Inn, Holborn, London.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, February 11th, 1748-9.

My dearest love: I have been accidentally engaged on post nights or should have writ before, and so it happens to-night, but I just write for writing's sake to thank thee for thine, and Tedy for the agreeable news of thy being better and his uncle. Having a frank I thought that I might as well enclose this here pamphlet, come out to-day, for his amusement, as I thought to have transcribed a shorter but similar account which I had writ down in shorthand from a French letter handed about a while ago, but the uncertainty of its being genuine prevented me, though it seemed afterwards as if it was.

I met your cousin Foxley this week in Chancery Lane, he is very well; I asked him to call on me at Abington's, he would have done so that day, but being to dine late with a friend, was willing to be going home before dark for fear of robbers who infest his neighbourhood of late.

Servandoni, the firework engineer,⁽¹⁾ is run away with the money,

⁽¹⁾ The fireworks in the Green Park in honour of the peace were on a very magnificent scale, and were designed and conducted by the Chevalier Servandoni. The pavilion was begun on the 7th November and its erection completed on the 26th of April next following. It was in the form of a magnificent temple, one hundred and forty-four feet in length, extended by arches on each side, two low wings north and south, and at the end of each a pavilion—the whole length being four hundred and ten feet. The prints, even the one published by authority, did not agree with the representation of the building on the night of performance. Among the statues were

three thousand pounds paid him in part. Alderman Davis is dead, though the papers to-day said he was better Dr. Hooper is in town; I shall tell him what you bid. Dr. Vernon sent to-day a card to dine with him to-morrow, with Sir Edward Littleton⁽¹⁾ and his brother of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a shorthand gentleman⁽²⁾ but Mr. Freke⁽³⁾ and I are to dine with the Bishop of Bristol by engagement. My dearest hearty love to all of you. Good night.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Tuesday night, February 14th, 1748-9.

Dear Valentine: Sir Thomas Egerton called on me the other day and asked me if I liked good singing — if I did, that he and a friend or two were to be at the Horn Tavern in Fleet Street on Tuesday night, and two clergymen, excellent voices, so I promised to be with

those of George II. and the King of France embracing, Religion, Temperance and Clemency; and amongst the fireworks, one large sun and two small ones, air balloons, tourbillons, &c. During the exhibition of these combustibles the north wing of the building was accidentally ignited and burnt to the ground to the dismay of the King, and this put a stop to the full exhibition of the most splendid of the fireworks; but it is recorded that "the grand rockets and the sun were discharged." Whilst the pavilion was on fire, the Chevalier Servandoni drew his sword and affronted Charles Frederick Esq. comptroller of the ordnance and fireworks, and being disarmed was taken into custody, but discharged the next day on asking pardon in the presence of the Duke of Cumberland. See *The Daily Advertiser*, April 29.

(¹) Sir Edward Littleton of Pillaton in the county of Stafford Bart., descended from the second son of the celebrated author of the "Treatise on Tenures." He succeeded his uncle, Sir Edward the third Baronet, in 1742, and married Frances, daughter of Christopher Horton of Catton in the county of Derby Esq. and sister of Christopher Horton Esq. (whose relict, Lady Ann (Luttrell), married H.R.H. Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, youngest son of King George II.) Sir Edward ob. s.p. 1812 when the title expired, and his estates passed to his grand nephew, Edward John Walhouse Esq., who assumed the surname of *Littleton*, and was created Baron Hatherton of Hatherton in the county of Stafford in 1835.

(²) Fisher, son of Fisher Littleton Esq. and grandson of Sir Edward Littleton the second Baronet. His elder brother Edward was the fourth Baronet, and M.A. of Emmanuel College in 1746. Fisher Littleton does not appear in the Cambridge list of graduates. He was a barrister-at-law, and married Mary, daughter and heiress of Thomas Seace of Northrepp in the county of Norfolk Esq., but ob. s.p.

(³) Probably ancestor of Lord Carbery.

them; and it being Valentine Day I thought, before I stepped thither, I would just write a line to send my love and service to the lady who honoured me with her obedience some years ago upon this happy festival; so please to present my best respects to her, and let her know that I bear in grateful remembrance the felicity which befel me on this day, and has continued to be the greatest of my whole life ever since.⁽¹⁾

Sir Thomas goes down in a week's time, there being no great business for minoritarians to transact in Parliament, where they don't let them into any great secrets, being able to manage matters and moneys without their assistance.

The fireworker (Servandoni) that was said to be gone off with three or four thousand pounds, was in the park on Sunday; he only absconded, as is now said, for fear of being arrested on suspicion of debt.

Mr. Freke and I dined with Bishop Butler,⁽²⁾ as we had appointed; there were fifteen at table, clergy and gentry; the Bishop very civil and courteous, and we had a good deal of talk about learned matters. When the clock strikes two, all arise and depart. His Lordship came to me after dinner, and told me I might find him at home generally in an afternoon; so I intend to try some day. I went with Mr. Freke who had his vehicle there to the King's Chapel, where we went into the organ loft, and drank tea afterwards with the organist Dr. Green,⁽³⁾ a very good player and composer. I have just had Mr. Littleton, Fell. Com. of Emmanuel, here from Cambridge, who is a great dab at shorthand, which Mr. Pont the recorder there

(1) Valentine's Day was a joyous one to him, and good cause had he to remember it with gratitude. There are many happy recollections connected with that day in the Byrom family.

(2) See vol. ii. part i. pp. 96 - 99.

(3) Dr. Maurice Greene, son of the Rev. Thomas Greene, vicar of St. Olave, Jewry, in London, the successor of Purcell in 1717 as organist of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and in the following year Brind's successor at St. Paul's. In 1726 he succeeded Dr. Crofts as organist and composer to the Chapel Royal, and in 1735 was appointed master of the King's band. He was a little deformed man, treated with too much contempt by Handel, and, possibly in consequence, a warm partisan of Bononcini. He ob. in 1755.

had initiated him in. I dined with Dr. Taylor of St. John's to-day, just crept out from the gout. I am better at present of my late complaint. I hope thou art well, that thy brother mends, dear love to the children. Good night.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Tuesday night, Feb. 28, 1748-9.

My dearest love: I received this afternoon the potted hare from Mr. Wilkinson, which Tedy mentioned in his last letter, together with thy letter concerning Miss Halsted,⁽¹⁾ &c., which has thrown me into a great but really very loving concern, for the consequence of an affair on which the family happiness so much depends. As I am quite a stranger to the young lady, and have no remembrance of having ever seen her, I cannot judge how I should like her person and behaviour; but for my beloved son's sake, I should wish her possessed of every qualification that might justly be agreeable to thee, his sisters, uncle, aunts, and friends, as well as to himself. I guess by the contents of thy letter that he has made his addresses to her, and that his aunt A. has given her a good character, which yet does not seem to amount to any absolute approbation; his uncle, too, seems neither for it nor against it; what his other aunts say of it, thou dost not hint at, by which I presume that they suppose that he is determined himself, and they would not disoblige him by making any objections to his choice. For my part, if my son be inclined to marry, I can only wish that he may make a proper choice; but whether he has or not, it is not in my power to determine, nor in my will to oppose his inclination, without cause, for I love him too well not to consent with great readiness to anything that others of his friends who heartily interest themselves in his happiness should approve of; but at present their approbation seems only to be negative, and his uncle's "What will his father say to it?" does not seem to import any great encouragement. His father would gladly hope that his son, in a thing of this consequence, might so behave as to please all his relations, and thereby acquire a

(¹) See Byrom Pedigree.

title to his father's approbation, who, considering him as the only youth of the name at present, would wish them all to assist, encourage, or prevent him as their love and judgment shall find occasion to show itself in his favour. As to fortune, report but seldom lessens it, though it has hardly much increased it, I suppose, in Miss H's case; but as to that, though it is undoubtedly a very prudential consideration, yet the qualities which the lady herself may or may not have, may make her a good wife with less than she has, or a bad one with a great deal more. I am full of wishes, hopes, and fears, and can think of nothing else at present than to refer myself to thy sentiments, which I wish thee to give me, and my son to be so much master of himself as to act on this occasion with all necessary discretion. I wish that whenever he marries he may meet with one that he may have as just reason to love, honour, and cherish as his father has his Valentine, whom he begs to take all possible [care] of a life and health so dear to him, who is, with hearty prayers to God for her and hers — hers and theirs — J. BYROM.

I have been transcribing and translating a copy of French verses that came over lately, and have made some talk at Paris and here, for Dolly; but on receipt of thine I have deferred sending them till I hear from thee again; however, thank her for me for Dr. Kenn's lines in shorthand, which she writes very prettily, and I will send her some in the same character.

I have had a note by Mrs. Meredith's footman from his mistress, to let me know that Lady Elis. Warren would be glad to see me in Grosvenor Street to-morrow morning; so I said I would wait upon her. I dined at Mr. Meredith's on Friday, when that lady was mentioned as one that would be glad to see me, and my professing a mutual gladness has, I suppose, occasioned this message.

To Mrs. Eliz. Byrom, near the Old Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, May 20, 1749.

My dearest love: I had thine yesterday, though I knew not where it came from; I was glad of it for the hopes of thy mending; it has helped to mend me that thou art got better. I am very warm at present upon trotting about the Haymarket up and down to find out Mr. Carrington the messenger, whom Mr. Walley had asked me to call upon about his papers — but I must write a line to him on the other side. I did not write to Mr. Thyer, for his reason, viz. that I had nothing new. My service to Mr. Walford; I have not had opportunity of showing his to Mr. Freke. Mr. Forbes I passed an evening with last year; his friend Mr. Erskine told me to-day that he was in Scotland now. I have not seen Lord Lempster or C. Wynne, nor know I where they are. Your brother's journey to Smithills⁽¹⁾ was indeed unexpected; it is very well, if it did him no good, that it has done him no harm. I wish Mrs. Dicken and her granddaughter recovery; the particulars about her son Dr. North she may better learn from her brother Vigor,⁽²⁾ who told me in general that both the Russian and English minister were his recommenders. Though his friend Lestock had been disgraced, the Doctor's qualities will undoubtedly gain him encouragement.

Young Mr. Meredith my scholar is come in here to the Temple Exchange coffeehouse about shorthand, so with thanks for the packet of ringing and ribaldry I must conclude; but in return for Q. D's. speech I'll stay to write out one that was made by a friend of hers who had the perusal of it.

Well sirs! such a rhymers! so hobblingly stupid!
 Sure never bore quills against Venus and Cupid.
 In his hints when the ladies no meaning could find,
 Now at last in plain terms he has told 'em his mind.

¹ After the death of Sir Rowland Bellasis K.B. in 1699 the estate of Smithills (near Bolton-le-Moors) was sold (whether immediately I am not sure) to the Byroms of Manchester, from whom it has been lately alienated for £21,000 to Mr. Aynsworth, an opulent manufacturer in the neighbourhood. Another instance of an ancient estate swallowed up in the great modern vortex. — Dr. Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley* p. 424, third edition, 1818.

² See vol. i. part ii. p. 384, *Notes* 2 and 4; vol. ii. part i. p. 87, *Note* 1.

Down with th' RUMP is the business — whereof the mere letter
 Has robbed of all patience this impotent fretter.
 How the spring and the stars make the maggots engender
 And wade through the wits of this shallow pretender !
 'Tis the year forty-nine too, — so wonder no more
 At the nonsense revolved — of the Roundheads of yore.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, May 27, 1749.

My dearest love: I had Mr. Thyer's papers about the Bounty Bill, and a letter from Mr. Walley with one enclosed for Mr. Carington the messenger, which I am just returned from delivering. His wife and he were drinking tea, and I sat down with them a little, and he promised that he would use his endeavours to get Mr. Walley his papers, which I desire thee to let him know; and that, enquiring for Mr. Warburton in St. Alban's Street, I was told that he went into the country three weeks ago. The bill which affects the country so much was resolved on the day that Mr. Thyer's letter came, so that it was too late to make any application about it. I wonder that care was not taken against a surprise of this nature, if the act was to expire, for they have taken the opportunity of the end of a session, when so many of your members are gone down into the country. Here is Sir James Lowther⁽¹⁾ tells me upon asking him about it, that it is a job — a ministerial job, sir! everything is a job, sir! &c. Lord Egmont,⁽²⁾ who has a great estate in Ireland, was eager for the bill, and the Ministers, having disoblged the Irish in somewhat or other, were to re-in-humour them with this. It was carried without a division.

(¹) Sir James Lowther the fourth baronet of Whitehaven F.R.S. and M.P. for the county of Cumberland temp. Queen Anne, George I. and George II. He died unmarried January 2, 1755, when the baronetcy expired.

(²) John second Earl of Egmont born 1710-11, married first in 1737 Catherine, daughter of James fifth Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had issue. He married secondly in 1756 Catharine, daughter of the Hon. Charles Compton, who was created a peeress of Ireland in 1770, as Baroness Arden of Lohort Castle, with remainder to her ladyship's heirs male. The Earl was a Privy Councillor, and in 1762 was created Lord Lovel and Holland of Enmore in the county of Somerset, and dying 20th December 1772, was succeeded by his son.

I have not time to write to Mr. Thyer, so let him know that I have heard nothing of the success of the letters which he mentions, or should have written if anything material had come to my knowledge. Mr. Crewe went out of town the day after I saw him, and I was told that Mr. Shuttleworth was to go soon after him; so that I apprehend as little success from the letters as the informations which were so earnestly pressed for. I should have been very glad to have done my best in private or public service, but was balked in the first and probable opportunity, and the latter was gone before it came. Our people must take care to foresee and lay in reasons and interests for stopping this jobbery at its three years' end. Mr. Carrington, upon my defending the behaviour of our two constables,⁽¹⁾ told me that it had been represented above that Mr. Walley offered his service of his own accord to proclaim the Pretender, but that when he came to read the proclamation Mr. Fowden told him that he could not read for stutting,⁽²⁾ and so snatched it from him to read it himself. This was a new lie that I had never heard of, and there are a great many more to be sure, if one knew all that the mischief makers have sent up. Mr. Hudson has had Mr. Booth Gore's and Mr. Barlow's affidavits from me in order to draw up some declarations. I wish the injured parties due redress.

I saw Mr. Newton bookseller here at the Temple Exchange, and Mr. Patten from Oxford and Mr. Foxley. Mr. Walley tells me that your brother is still better, so I hope that the danger of anything else but lameness is pretty well over. Mr. Law has published a little 12d. piece about prayer,⁽³⁾ which his printer Mr. Innys has

(1) This has reference to the trial of Mr. Fowden, late constable of Manchester, and Mr. Ogden, jun., at the Assizes of Lancaster on the 14th of April 1747, on a charge of high treason, for aiding and abetting the cause of the rebels. But evidence was brought forward to show that in every instance in which they were accused they had acted under compulsion. To the great satisfaction, therefore, of the Jacobites, the jury pronounced an honourable acquittal.—Hibbert's *Foundations of Manchester*, vol. ii. p. 125. Shorthand notes of this trial, but too extensive and disjointed for publication here, are now in Miss Atherton's possession.

(2) i.e. stammering.

(3) *The Spirit of Prayer; or the Soul rising out of the Vanity of Time into the Riches of Eternity*, in two parts: by W. Law M.A. — *Works*.

made me a present of; he had a list of near an hundred from Lady Huntington to make presents of to her acquaintances. Mr. Newton said he would send some down as soon as possible. It is a most excellent thing, like all that comes from its author, who I am told has another part ready for the press, as this has been a good while. The weather has been rainy and extraordinary cold for this day or two past. I hope that you will pass Monday next without squabbles. They talk much of a change of the Ministry when the Parliament breaks up. Mr. F. says that the Prince F.⁽¹⁾ met Lord Lichfield⁽²⁾ in the park, and asked him if he had read Lord Bolingbroke's late book about a patriot King?⁽³⁾ and his Lordship answering that he had, the Prince told him, Well, my Lord, I shall be that patriot King. Well, my dear, I keep talking to thee, but 'tis late. Good night, all.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old Church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

William Law to John Byrom.

Cliffe, May 27th.

Dear Sir: I have the favour of yours, for which I give you thanks. I have had notice of your being at Cambridge, and so had some expectation you would call upon me as you went home. I believe I shall be gone from this place before Monday next, having daily ex-

⁽¹⁾ Frederick Prince of Wales, eldest son of George II., ob. in 1751, and did not become "a Patriot King."

⁽²⁾ George Henry Lee third Earl of Litchfield (of that creation) was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and married Diana, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Frankland of Thirkelby in the county of York Bart., but dying s.p. in 1775 the honours reverted to his uncle, who died the year following without issue, when the title became extinct.

⁽³⁾ Lord Bolingbroke's celebrated Letters "On the Spirit of Patriotism; on the Idea of a Patriot King; and on the State of Parties at the Accession of King George I.," written many years before and surreptitiously printed by Pope, were published by the author in 1749. The attack upon Pope by Mallet, at Bolingbroke's instigation, in the Preface, Warburton's Defence of the Poet, and the explanation given by the Right Hon. George Rose of the origin of the Essay on the Patriot King and Pope's share in it, will be found fully detailed in the recent editions of the poet's life.

pected a call for about a fortnight. However, as it is not out of your way to go by Cliffe, my brother will be glad to see you. If you should come, pray leave your poetry for me; or if you do not, you may leave it for me either at Stamford or at Wansford.

You remember our last night's conversation, and what you undertook. But I might tell you that I repented of my proposal to you before I went to bed that night. Had it been your own impulse to do what was then talked of, I should have liked it very well. But you had no sooner left me but I condemned the proposal as coming from myself; and have continued to do so till now; looking upon it as justly to be suspected to have some degree of self, or self-seeking in it, and therefore I renounce it as such. An assistance that comes in unlooked and unsought for, I can rejoice in, as coming from God, but I have the fullest conviction that I ought to be as fearful of desiring to be assisted as of desiring to be esteemed. à Dieu — W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom at Trinity College in Cambridge.

By Caxton bag.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, July 8, 1749.

My dearest love: I wish you all welcome home from your several journeys, and desire to know in your next whether Black Jack be in a condition to carry me, and if he is, whether opportunity of sending him to Cambridge, or to Wansford in England as they call it, five miles on this side Stamford and twenty-five about from Cambridge, can be met with, because I promised Mr. Law to call on him in my return, and he lives four miles sideways from Wansford. But if the horse will not be able to carry me very well, I had better take my chance for some conveyance homeward. The weather has been vastly hot of late, but thank God I have kept pretty well in it. Mr. Erskine⁽¹⁾ and Selwin,⁽²⁾ two of my shorthand scholars, are dead of

(1) "June 1st, 1749, died Charles Erskine Esq. Counsellor at Law in Lincoln's Inn." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. p. 284. He was probably a younger son of David Erskine fourth Lord Cardross and Earl of Buchan, and was brother of the wife of the celebrated Colonel Gardiner.

(2) "June 9, 1749, died Charles Selwyn Esq. of West Sheen, near Richmond, Surrey, member last parliament for Luggershall." — *Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. p. 284.

violent fevers lately, both much lamented by their acquaintance; the first was one that pleaded for Manchester folks at Lancaster assizes.⁽¹⁾ I passed an evening this week with my city scholar Mr. Tucker, who called on me, and we two supped together, and he told me the particulars about Mr. Carter,⁽²⁾ who was missing the night of that day that he married Mr. Tucker's sister and has not been heard of ever since that time, viz. 22nd of June. There is I see in to-night's *Gazette* a promise of pardon and £100 reward to any accomplice in the supposed murder of him; but it has been mostly thought that he was drowned, his hat having been found in the Thames, and an advertisement stuck up on the landing places of ten guineas for any one that should find the body, which as yet nobody has. It is a quite unaccountable affair, he being in good circumstances, his wife a very pretty, agreeable woman with £3,500 ready money, he vastly fond of her, and behaving beyond all suspicion, and Mr. Tucker has known him fourteen years; he was indeed a little gay, and drank freely, but this event astonishes them all. The poor lady has been in fits, &c., but more composed when I saw her brother, who came out for a little relief for the first time that he could leave his house. I have dined often with her, and her husband (if one may call him so) was sometimes there. This unhappy affair has made much talk, as has the pulling down of some houses of ill repute in the Strand and elsewhere.⁽³⁾ I happened to pass by as they began to break the

(1) See ante, page 491, *Note 1*.

(2) Mr. Nathaniel Carter was a wine merchant in London, and was supposed by some persons to have been murdered; but his body was found on the 5th July 1749, in the Thames near Chelsea, in his wedding dress, with stone buckles in his shoes and money in his pockets. The bride was distracted, and it appeared in evidence that Carter had been with his mother to obtain some money, but meeting with a refusal, and his mother apparently not acceding to his wishes on the subject, he said, on leaving the place, she would repent of her conduct, so that he probably committed suicide. November 9th 1749, Mrs. Carter of Crutched Friars "died of grief for her son, who was found drowned in the Thames." — *Gent Mag.* vol. xix. p. 572.

(3) Three sailors belonging to the Grafton man of war went into a house of ill fame in the Strand, where they were robbed of large sums of money, and, obtaining no redress, went on Saturday the 1st July 1749 with a number of armed sailors, who entered the house, destroyed the property, broke the windows, and turned the women

lower windows of the first of 'em on Saturday afternoon, and as I came back about eight o'clock in the evening, stayed along with an acquaintance to see a scene that I had never beheld before, the flinging the house out of the windows—pictures, glasses, tables, furniture, hoops, gowns, feather beds—and making a bonfire of 'em all before the door; they renewed their exploits the night after, and threatening to go on, all the houses of that class were so busy in gutting their own apartments in the daytime as made much mob and merriment in the streets; but on Monday three coachful of rioters were guarded by a party to Newgate, which put a stop to further proceedings. I dined at the annual feast of the Governors of St. Bart.'s Hospital on Thursday with Mr. Freke, and was engaged after or should have writ, but having nothing material but to wish you all well home, I do it now, and shall be glad of your advice about my own journey. I sent you the five books for Phebe, &c., that is, one for her, and for who you would besides of her kin or yours,— I forgot to mention my friend Ebenezer Hill, I wish he might have one from me, with my love to him, &c. Who is your usher in Mr. Purnel's room? Shall I

naked into the street. They also considerably damaged an adjacent house. The following night the sailors renewed their outrages on several other houses, being encouraged by the populace. Nine of these persons were apprehended and committed to Newgate on a charge of riot; one was executed and several were transported. Bosavern Pen Lez, the young man who suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Tyburn excited much popular commiseration. He was the son of a clergyman, well educated, of good character, and only accidentally joined the rioters. His intemperate zeal and honest detestation of vice led him to violate the law, and although great efforts were made even with royalty to save his life they were unsuccessful. The parishioners of St. Clement Danes interred his remains within their church, the expense being defrayed by a private subscription. On his monument were these significant words:—

* * * * * “Reader!

Learn hence to respect the Laws—even the most oppressive,

And think thyself happy under that Government

That doth *truly* and *indifferently* minister Justice

To the punishment of WICKEDNESS and VICE,

And to the maintenance of God's TRUE RELIGION and VIRTUE.”

Fielding in his “True State of the Case of Bosavern Penlez,” vindicates the justice and necessity of his conviction and execution.

send my boxes to Mr. Wilkinson's? I will write when you need not; meanwhile let me hear from ye till I am so happy as to come your way. God's blessing and good night; it is past eleven.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom near the old church
in Manchester, Lancashire.

Robert Thyer to John Byrom.

Dear Sir: As we are likely to have the pleasure of seeing you amongst us very soon, we think it unnecessary to send you the printed papers promised. The freshest military news at present is — One day last week several Cheshire gentlemen, viz. Mr. Wright of Mobberley,⁽¹⁾ Mr. Meredith⁽²⁾ and Mr. Brook of Mere,⁽³⁾ with several of our townsmen, agreed to have a private ball at the Assembly Room, each gentleman to bring his partner, and no others to be admitted. The Major, having some intelligence of this design, writes a letter to Mr. Wagstaffe,⁽⁴⁾ whom he was pleased to call the director of this meeting, to acquaint him that he and the officers were resolved to come to this ball without invitation. This epistle is a very great curiosity both for the style and spelling of it, and if I can procure a copy you shall have the diversion of perusing it. To make good

(¹) The Rev. Henry Offley Wright, only surviving son of Henry Wright of Mobberley Esq. by his wife Purefoy, daughter of Sir Willoughby Aston Bart., succeeded his father in 1744, and dying in 1799, æt. 80, was buried at Mobberley. He was brother-in-law of George Lloyd of Hulme Hall near Manchester Esq.

(²) William Meredith of Henbury Hall died 20th January 1752, and bequeathed to the parishes of Macclesfield, Prestbury and Stockport £100 each, and the sum of £200 for building a chapel at Henbury, with an endowment of £40 a year for ever.—*Gent. Mag.* vol. xxii. p. 44.

(³) Peter Brooke of Mere Hall Esq., sheriff of Cheshire in 1728, married Frances, daughter and heiress of Francis Hollinshead of Wheelock Esq., and dying in 1764, æt. 69, was succeeded by his son of the same name.

(⁴) John Wagstaffe of Manchester Gent., son of John Wagstaffe of the same place Gent. (will dated 3rd May 1712) by his wife Silence, daughter of the Rev. Charles Beswicke M.A., rector of Radcliffe. His sister Silence married (1) John, son of the Rev. Peter Leigh M.A. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Thomas Egerton M.P. of Tatton Park, and (2) Robert Thyer Gent. the Chetham librarian and Byrom's correspondent. See p. 396, *Note 2*, ante.

their promise, with great judgment and martial skill they took possession of the room long before the company came, whilst the man was lighting up the candles; and the result was that when they did come they showed their contempt and resentment of such behaviour by taking no manner of notice of these intruding sparks, who, after sauntering there an hour or two, flung down their crowns apiece and left the place in great dudgeon. The company after this enjoyed themselves and their own dances till three o'clock in the morning. The officers were told afterwards that their money would not be taken, to which they very politely replied that the Cheshire squires might take it to buy oatmeal for their hounds with. On Wednesday last the Major attacked Mr. Wagstaffe in the coffeehouse, and told him that he was informed he had said that he could not write English and was unfit for the command he was in. This Mr. W. denied, but the Major persisted in affirming it, seized Mr. W. by the collar and poured forth a volley of braggadocio threats what should be done at him, even to the taking his life. Dr. Danson, Mr. Barlow of Barlow,⁽¹⁾ and several others, were present. What sort of notice will be taken of this fresh insult I cannot yet inform you, but I really think every honest townsman ought to make it his own quarrel. You hear, I suppose, that Mr. Booth⁽²⁾ is struck out of the commission, which, I doubt, proves that these outrages are premeditated and countenanced by those who should have more sense. I was last night at his house, and both he and his lady seem very well pleased that he is so honourably quit of so troublesome an office.

Manchester, July 8, 1749.

Yours, &c. &c.

P.S. I beg you will make no further use of the enclosed than to satisfy your own curiosity.

To Mr. John Byrom.

(¹) Thomas Barlow of Barlow near Manchester Esq., the last male representative of an ancient and well-connected Lancashire family, was buried within the Collegiate Church near his knightly ancestors, March 5th 1773, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

(²) For a notice of Robert Booth Esq. see p. 397, *Note 5*, ante.

[From Adams's *Weekly Courant*.]

Manchester, July 14, 1749.

Mrs. Adams⁽¹⁾: In the present scarcity of news, the following story, founded upon a little rencounter which happened here not long ago, may perhaps not be unacceptable. It will, I hope, afford some entertainment to your readers; and may possibly serve, too, better than graver reasoning, to convince some inexperienced sparks we have got amongst us of the folly of indulging that pettish spirit of loyalty which is perpetually leading those who are possessed with it into some Hudibrastic scrape or other. Yours, &c.

THE BELLMAN AND THE CAPTAIN.

A TALE.

AN arch and sturdy bellman of the town,
That used to cry his matters up and down,
As custom had not introduced the thing,
Never concluded with — “God save the King,”
The loyal tag, in some parts of the nation,
Both to the king's and bellman's proclamation.
A blustering Captain, quartered in the place
By where the bellman daily trod his pace,
Took it as his commission to correct
Of civil rule so *crying* a neglect.
One day, as honest Stentor, passing by,
Had finished of his catalogue the cry,
“Hark ye,” says he, “you! bellman! come up stairs! —
A dog — I'll teach him how to cry his wares!”
Up goes the man into a public room
Where was the Captain strutting in a fume,
And thought that some deserter or another
Had put the hero into such a pother.
“Sir,” says he, bowing and with hat in hand,
“May't please your worship, what is your command?”

(¹) The following tale is found in manuscript in the first volume of “Manchester Poems,” with some unimportant verbal variations. Mrs. Adams was the printer and proprietor of the Chester tory newspaper.

“Command? ye dog! If I were to preside,
I’d break the bones in your rebellious hide!”
“Bones, sir! break bones!” (and then put on his hat)
“What have I done, sir? What d’ye mean by that?
I’m but a bellman, but, for all your buff,
As good as you, sir, and can look as bluff.”
The Captain, not expecting such rebuke,
Began to soften his enraged look,
Smoothed on his brow the military frown,
And dropped his wrath to gentler reasoning down:
“Pray, when you ring your bell about here, friend,
And cry your stuff, why don’t you, at the end,
Pray for his majesty King G—?” “I pray?”
Replied the bellman — “O good lack-a-day!
I pray? forsooth! and why not preach as well?
Is it to prayers you think I ring my bell?
Though I could pray as well as you can swear,
’Tis not my office: — master, howsome’er,
I thought you wanted to have something cried —”
“Well, but my friend,” the red-coat spark replied,
“In other places, when the bell is rung,
King G— is prayed for; here, you hold your tongue.
Look ye, I’ve listened, as you walked about,
And constantly have known you leave it out;
I eat his bread — and do insist that you
Pray for his majesty as others do,
Or else I’ll” — “Master, don’t be in a splutter;
You may eat bread, — and never forsake butter;
What’s that to me? And if you are, good sir,
So fond of praying as you make a stir,
Which I much question, yet, if that’s the case,
The *church*, sir, not the *market*, is the place.
If this be all you have to say — farewell.”
And so — the bellman bore away the bell.
When he was gone — but must a second part
To the same tune be sung? — with all my heart —
When he was gone, the Captain, quite abashed
To find his bill against the bellman quashed,

To blunt in conversation, by degrees,
The edge of Stentor's cutting repartees,
"Pray," says he, speaking to a stander by,
"Is it not usual, at the bellman's cry,
To pray 'God save the King?'" "No, sir, not here;
It is a custom which they have elsewhere,
But to these parts it has not yet come down,
At least I never heard it in this town."
"You have in others?" "Ay, sir, several times;
It is a thing as common as the chimes.
Once, in particular, it made me smile."
"How so?" "I'll tell ye; but, in the meanwhile,
A story, sir, without offence begun,
Must have none taken, otherwise I've done."
"Well, sir, go on." "Why once, in such a place,
There lived a bellman used to say this grace
Which ours knew nothing of, it should appear —"
"An ignorant rascal!" — "Nay, if you wont hear,
My tale is ended, meant, not to revive
But bury that which does no good alive;
For heat and passion" — "Well, sir, I have done." —
"This bellman, Jack they called him, to go on,
Had orders once to cry a carrier's horse,
Strayed or conveyed out of his proper course.
So to his work Jack went, and rung his bell —
'I want a horse,' — and so began to tell
The horse's colour, height, and age, and straddle,
But quite forgot his wearing a packsaddle.
This special token did not, through confusion
Of memory, occur till the conclusion —
Till prayer was ended, as you're pleased to call it —
When recollecting, thus we heard him bawl it
(Cart before horse a little, and the folks
About the market laughed and cracked their jokes) —
'God bless his majesty King G—,' says Jack,
Then roared — '*with a packsaddle on his back.*'"

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, July 15th 1749.

My dearest love: I received thine last post with great pleasure, glad to hear thy cold is gone and thy heart so feather-light; it lessens much the weight of mine to hear it. If Black Jack be in such good order, I think to meet him at Wansford as soon as I can possibly despatch my matters here. The letters under frank of Mr. Brereton's⁽¹⁾ name were charged 8d. to me by order of the controller of the post house, who, the man said, took the writing not to be his; I wish you would enquire for proof that it was.

I am much obliged to Sir Watkin⁽²⁾ and Mrs. Powis for their civilities to my girls. I met Mr. Wood in King Street yesterday as I was walking with Mr. Tucker,⁽³⁾ whose brother-in-law's body is found, and his watch and silver; the gold was taken by the watermen I suppose, who had ten guineas and his clothes given them. A gentle verdict of accidental death was brought in. I am so late that I dare not venture to write more—but may I ask how they do at Lymm, if your son be come back?

Robert Thyer to John Byrom.

Manchester, 31st July, 1749.

Dear Sir: I heartily thank you for your last favour from Mr. Miller, which afforded great pleasure to all your friends. I delayed acknowledging it in hopes of sending some fresh moultrie to the mill, but none has yet come to hand; so that I begin to think if Solomon's fool had been ground in a mill instead of being pounded in a mortar his folly might perhaps have been taken from him. Well, but I understand that you correspond with a forger of franks. This affair has made us great diversion. You must know that this same supposed

⁽¹⁾ Thomas Brereton Esq., M.P. for Liverpool in the parliaments of 1727, 1734, 1741 and 1747.

⁽²⁾ See p. 442, *Note 3*, ante. His character is given in *Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. pp. 430, 470 and 473.

⁽³⁾ See p. 494, *Note 2*, ante.

forgery was a frank which my neighbour Purnel⁽¹⁾ (who wanted to write to his Oxford friends and thought it more decent to appear there under a tory cover) had exchanged with me for one of Mr. Lister's,⁽²⁾ and I being very cunning, you must know, thought it the snuggest and safest to write to you under the protection of a good honest whig. Purnel it seems had this same Tho. Brereton from Mr. Nichols, and it gives him great pleasure to have such an opportunity of roasting his wrong-headed whig friends, which he promises to do to purpose. I don't think however that it was counterfeit, but I have heard since that this same Liŕple [? Liverpool] commoner is rather too free in his favours of this sort, which may raise a suspicion in Mr. Comptroller. Our new usher (Mr. Lawson³) is come down and entered upon his office. He brought with him an excellent character in point of scholarship both from Dr. Randolph⁽⁴⁾

(1) The Rev. William Purnall, educated at Oriel College, Oxford, B.A. 1723, M.A. 1728. He was nominated second master on the death of Mr. Wall, and high master of the Grammar School of Manchester, by Corpus Christi College, on the resignation of the Rev. Henry Brooke M.A. in 1749. His will is dated 15th September 1763, and he thereby demised the residue of his personalty to his executors for charitable purposes, having particular regard to the Infirmary in Manchester and to the endowment of the Charity School at Newton in that parish. The school received £200. He died 16th April 1764, æt. 63, and was buried in the Collegiate Church.

(2) Thomas Lister Esq., M.P. for Clitheroe in the parliaments of 1747 and 1754.

(3) Charles Lawson Esq., elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, 7th February 1748, B.A. 17—, M.A. July 3rd 1753. He was elected second master of Manchester Grammar School in July 1749, and succeeded Mr. Purnall as high master in 1764. He died 19th April 1807 in his seventy-ninth year, having filled the high master's chair during a period of more than forty-three years. His mural monument by Bacon (unhappily and injudiciously placed over the Chapter House entrance, to the injury of the architecture), was erected to his memory by his grateful pupils. There is a good portrait of him, painted by Craig in 1797 and afterwards engraved, inscribed "Pietas Alumnorum." A copy of this engraving was published in 1833 in "The Foundations of Manchester," vol. ii. p. 294.

(4) The Rev. Thomas Randolph was of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, M.A. 1722, B.D. 1730, D.D. 1735, president of his College (1748), vice chancellor (1756), Lady Margaret's professor of divinity (1768), archdeacon of Oxford and rector of Pelham and Waltham in Kent. He died at Oxford March 24th 1783, æt. 82. He published a variety of learned and useful theological works.

the head of C. C. C. and from Mr. Patten⁽¹⁾ his tutor. He is but young, about twenty-two, but seems a very modest, pretty sort of a man, and I believe Purnel and he will set very heartily about retrieving the credit of the school, which Dr. Randolph has very strongly recommended to them both. There was a meeting of the feoffees on Tuesday, when the salaries of the masters were fixed as before, with promises of advance upon good behaviour. Four new feoffees were chosen at the same time, viz. Mr. John Arden,⁽²⁾ Mr. Robert Guillim,⁽³⁾ Mr. Edward Greaves,⁽⁴⁾ and Mr. Miles Lonsdale.⁽⁵⁾ You hear, I suppose, that Mr. Egerton⁽⁶⁾ of Tatton is going to be married to Miss Copley, and his friend Mr. Greaves to Miss Lever. Pray, good sir, do you never intend to come down? The ladies, I assure you, cry out most terribly against such vagrant husbands, and would gladly have Mrs. Byrom to come with all her family to fetch you. If you tarry a little longer you will most certainly get within the vortex of another season, and then I suppose you will think no more of Manchester. Yours, &c.

(1) Thomas Patten (of the Bank Hall family) of Corpus Christi College, Oxon, M.A. 1736, B.D. 1744, D.D. 1754, rector of Childrey in the county of Berks, married in 1765 Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Brooke of Mere in the county of Chester Esq. Dr. Patten was a sound and excellent churchman, a poet, a scholar, and an exemplary parish priest. He died in 1790, æt. 76.

(2) John Arden of Hardern Esq., born 1709, sheriff of Cheshire 1760, ob. 1786. He was father of the first Lord Alvanley.

(3) Robert Gwyllim of Atherton Esq.

(4) Edward, son and heir of John Greaves of Culcheth in the parish of Manchester Esq., married Martha, daughter of Sir Darcy Lever of Alkrington Knt. LL.D.

(5) Miles Lonsdale of Field House near Bury Esq., barrister at law and justice of peace, born 1702, ob. 1774 in his seventy-second year, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Greenhalgh of Brandlesome Hall Esq.

(6) Samuel Egerton of Tatton Park Esq. M.P. married Beatrix, daughter and co-heiress of the Rev. John Copley M.A. rector of Batley, Elmley and Thornhill in the county of York, and fellow of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. He ob. in 1780, æt. 69.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Thursday night, August 3rd, 1749.

My dearest love: I have pulled thy last out of my pocket to answer it to-night, having waited for Mr. Thyer's, to whom my service, but it requires no immediate answer. I desired Mr. Walley⁽¹⁾ to give Robert Hill half a moidore for me if he would accept of it; it is half a guinea it seems, and as to payment, he and I will talk about that; I am glad that he lives so comfortably. The Savoyard girl has made some noise and some pictures; she is a poor mean-dressed wench, but pretty enough if she was dressed out, not at all like the picture in the print where the Duke kneels.⁽²⁾

Will all your four new feoffees qualify themselves? My friend Mr. Justice Freke, who sent me to Bridewell, has just been here (at the Temple Exchange coffeehouse) upon two sticks, and is just gone home, and I shall go upon the same errand when I have thanked thee for thine; for I am upon my guard to-day, or should have dined upon a haunch of venison with Alderman Blachford, Sheriff Ironside, and I don't know who; I thought to have dined however with Mr. Wrigley,⁽³⁾ just come from Bath, where his relation Mr. Clayton is dead and buried, but I forebore that too. I thank [you] for Mr. Hoole's⁽⁴⁾ buffet; a worse might have served, but, as it was

(¹) See ante, p. 386, Note 6.

(²) This allusion to the Lais of "a great Prince" is evidently referred to in "A new Court Ballad" in the *London Evening Post*, for June 1749:

* * * *

"From Savoy came Marian this conquest to win;
Her cloathing was lindsey, and dingy her skin;
With action full waggish, she squeak'd from her throat well,
And her music she ground as a chandler grinds oatmeal:
At Court such a raree-show never was seen-a;
Ho! the pretty marmot and Madam CATHERINA!"

* * * *

(³) The Rev. Henry Wrigley of Langley Hall near Middleton, whose maternal uncle, Thomas Clayton Esq. (youngest son of Seth Clayton of Scholfield Hall near Rochdale Esq. by his wife Alice, daughter of James Scholfield of Scholfield Esq.) baptized at Rochdale in 1688, was a drysalter in Thames Street, London, but retiring from business with a large fortune, died at Bath in July 1749. — *Lanc. MSS.*

(⁴) See p. 386, Note 2, ante.

his, it is so much the better. I had a great value for him, and shall be glad to see Mrs. Hoole — does she stay here? Where may one find her? I may come in the York coach to Stamford, but Wansford is in the way, as I take it, five miles short, but either will do. I don't know but I may ride a friend's mare down which has been offered me if time suits.

Thou sent me the verses to show to them who showed them to me in the *London Evening Post*; the printer told me of them on Monday night, and said they would be in his paper next day and he was sure I should like them, and being a humorous spark himself, he gave us a merry account of the subject matter of them in prose. Tuesday night I was in company where Mr. Allen, a Master in Chancery, came in, and the first thing he said was to thank me for my verses, not knowing that they were Mr. Miller's. People I find are diverted with them here too; but the crowded manner of printing them makes it difficult for some to read them.

I have had a letter from Mr. Hills, cousin Chad's father-in-law, to dine with him on Sunday. If anything transpires of officers answering, let me know, that I may tell Miller. I passed an evening lately with Mr. Vigor, who has left London and taken or bought a house near Maidenhead; he had just had a letter from his nephew North,⁽¹⁾ who is like to flourish in Muscovy, where he is in the Empress's service, has as good as a hundred a year already, preferred as soon as possible, and like to rise on.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, August 19th, 1749.

My dearest love: I had Tedy's letter, but wanted to hear from thee, being apprehensive that thou or some of thine were not well, as I hope that ye all are at present and that I shall have the pleasure of finding you all so. I called at the Angel in Bishopsgate Street to see Mrs. Hoole on Friday evening, but she was gone out; I called at Mr. Wilkinson's, but was told that he was gone his journey; and having no acquaintance with any of them else, I must send my

(¹) See vol. i. part ii. p. 384, *Notes* 2 and 4, and vol. ii. part i. p. 87, *Note* 1.

boxes myself, which I propose to do next week, and to set myself as soon as I can the week after, and shall send word for my horse if no other convenience happens, that of a friend's mare being now over. If our cousin Andrew⁽¹⁾ the clergyman lay in my way I might call on him, but he is in the Cambridge road, which I must avoid, for I could not help staying there or disobliging many. I met our cousin's servant here the other day, and they are all well, which is all that I should want to know if I went in person. I shall call at Biggen if I happen to go that way. We dined at Mr. Hill's as I mentioned, Mr. Osborn their neighbour at Biggen (the father), and Mr. Barnard, and the clergyman (Morgan) with whom little Willy Chaddocke is boarded. If one had known that they would have made a picture of your bellman, &c., it might have been made more diverting; but it was the sudden device of one of the shops who pick up pence on such occasions as they select from newspapers and accidents. Pray write some of you by the return of the post; I intend to miss none till I depart hence, which I shall do as soon as possible, though I must leave some things unfinished. Dear love, good night.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Thursday night, August 24th, 1749.

My dearest love: Upon the receipt of Tedy's letter about a coach coming hither this week and setting out the next, I have determined to wait for that conveyance to see how it will prove; if it be empty enough in its return I design to take a place for the sake of coming directly, but if it is to be filled I shall not choose it. I wish Tedy had mentioned the man's name and inn that he was to come to; I have been to enquire but have not met with any certain satisfaction. I met with Mr. Willson or Wilkson with whom I stayed a little at the Axe Inn, where the hostler said a coach would come from a place near Manchester, &c. I had been in Bishopsgate Street to enquire for Mrs. Hoole, who was not within. I thence went to dine with Mr. Redshaw, a city disciple, who has just married his first

(¹) See vol. part ii. p. 358, *Note*.

cousin ; and the weather is prodigiously hot this week that I hope it will be rain before I depart. If you know what time this coach will set out next week, you will judge whether I can hear from you again or no. I am so afraid of being too late, as I was last post, that I must conclude.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

John Byrom to Mrs. Byrom.

Saturday night, August 26th, 1749.

My dear dear love : I have been all day preparing to go in the coach that came from Manchester, but on calling to-night at the Axe Inn I find that some Irish family has hired it to go to Chester. I had some talk with the honest coachman and perceive that it was hired before he came hither, as they looked out for customers beforehand, so that I must look out for some other opportunity. I went again to enquire for Mrs. Hoole, but she was out of town. Yesterday morning she called at Abington's with Miss and her niece, and I went with her to show her the way from my lodgings to Gloucester Street, and then went to enquire about other matters ; I met her this evening in Gray's Inn as I was going to the Axe, after a visit, and took my leave, making no doubt but that I should go down on Monday ; but it happening otherwise I must take the next opportunity, of which I shall advertise thee, and am, in the mean time, Thine, thine, thine, &c. &c.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the old Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

Tuesday night, August 29th, 1749.

My dearest love : Upon the disappointment of the Manchester coach which I expected would have been empty or near it, and that I might have brought what I wanted down in it, I find no better way than what I proposed before, to meet my horse, if in right condition, at Wansford. I have been up and down the inns to enquire about the coach that went by Stamford, which I found at last to be at the

Three Cups at the further end of Aldersgate Street, which goes out on Monday morning, three o'clock, so that by this notice there will be time enough to meet me there at leisure, for if I come first I shall go to Cliffe, so thou may order it as thou wilt. I past two or three hours last night with our cousins in Queen's Square. I am now at the Temple Exchange Coffeehouse with Mr. Freke, &c.; I dined with Mr. Salkeld whom I went to take leave with in the city. The weather is exceeding hot and dusty, that I wish for a little rain this week. I must now content myself with the hopes of thy health and thine; write by the messenger. God prosper the long wished-for meeting with you all.

To Mrs. Elis. Byrom, near the Old Church,
in Manchester, Lancashire.

1750.

Robert Thyer to John Byrom.

Monday morning, past nine o'clock.

Dear Sir: I had the favour of yours, which I immediately communicated to Mr. K. who happened to be in town, about Mr. Wagstaff's affair. He seemed to be very well pleased with what you said concerning Mr. Sh——, and said that the affidavits should be sent up to you in a post or two. They are not yet all taken, and it is also thought proper to send affidavits concerning the torch-light riot that I first wrote to you about. I believe you may be certain of the whole being sent by next Tuesday's post at the farthest. You will find I dare say, when you receive these materials, that I have not aggravated matters at all, and that all the stories of way-laying, &c., are false. You will have affidavits from several people of credit and fashion who were present when Wagstaff fought with the officer on Sunday evening. I had the story from one of them, Mr. James Horton, who seems a very fair modest man; he is much acquainted with Mistress B—r—cl's family, and I fancy you know him. Mr. Booth was with Mr. K. when I showed the letter, and will very heartily concur to do every thing in his power to serve the town.

I will see Sir Thos. Egerton and get a letter despatched by him at the same time that I send you the affidavits. I should have told you that Mr. Ll—d⁽¹⁾ was at the Assembly on Thursday last, when the Major shined away about Sir Wat's Jig, and was very much offended with such ill-judged resentment, and indeed has all along, consistent with his usual sense and moderation, condemned the officers' behaviour. Poor Mr. Houghton, our brother and friend, incurred the Major's displeasure too, by calling up *Mad Moll*, which was construed, forsooth, as an affront to Miss Bl[an]d, a great favourite of a certain hero. Upon the Major's huffing about Sir W.'s Jig, Mr. Houghton asked him how he came to be offended then when he had made no objections to it before, and it had been constantly danced every assembly night. The reply was, that the fiddles made such a damn'd racket with the tune that he could almost have thought some fellow in the music gallery had shouted "Down with the Rump," and that if he had his servant with him he would have thrown that damn'd fiddler (Wainwright first fiddle) over the rails, by G—d. "And Mr. Houghton, as you seem to take the ladies' part, I desire you will talk to them to behave better for the future, or by G—d I'll give them some of my Billingsgate; I'll use them roughly—monstrous roughly, by G—d," &c. &c. Mr. Houghton replied (and Mr. Ll—d joined with him), that if fiddles could speak treason, they had done, it signified nothing talking. — Yours, &c.

To Mr. J. Byrom.

John Byrom to Peter Bold.⁽²⁾

Manchester, August 16th, 1750.

Honoured Sir: Having received a copy of some lines, said to be an extract of a letter from an officer at Manchester to his friend in

⁽¹⁾ George Lloyd Esq. F.R.S. of Hulme Hall and of Cartley in the county of York. He was twice married. See vol. i. part ii. p. 440, *Note 1*.

⁽²⁾ Peter, son and heir of Richard Bold of Bold Esq. M.P. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Horton of Barkisland in the county of York Esq. He contested the county of Lancaster in 1747, the other candidates being Lord Strange and Richard

London, dated April 4, 1750, relating to the Assembly; and being requested to declare to you what I know concerning the contents of it, I find myself obliged to submit to your judgment the remarks which occur to me upon perusal of its several paragraphs.

1. "On the first of February as usual the Manchester gentlemen called for a country dance, that, not content with the name it commonly goes by, they have honoured with the very decent appellation of Down-with-Rump."

The Manchester gentlemen ought to be cleared from whatever is insinuated in these words. You know, sir, that it is the custom for one person only to call for a country dance, by the direction of his partner; and it happened to be my case that night to be responsible for the supposed crime of calling for that which is here alluded to. Not having danced there for many years, I was then invited to it by a lady out of the country whom I had too much regard for to decline the favour; and asking her what she would please to have called for, she said, Sir Watkin's Jig, which accordingly I called for by that appellation and no other, not having the least design of giving offence to any body, or suspicion that any body would then choose to be so offensive as to object to it, much less to make any kind of disturbance about it.

Who honoured it with its decent appellation I can't tell; but neither I, nor my partner, nor anybody that I know of in Manchester has ever bestowed that honour upon it, unless it be such as hastily believed the fiction that it was called for by the name of "Down with the Rump." You will easily perceive, sir, that this appellative was made use of upon this occasion by persons inclined to take or make

Shuttleworth Esq., but lost his election, the numbers voting being, Strange 247; Shuttleworth 170; Bold 140. On the death of Shuttleworth, 22nd December 1748, Mr. Bold was returned Knight of the Shire, and again in 1754. He was not a candidate for the county in the parliament of 1761 (although stated by Baines, vol. iii. p. 717, to have represented Lancashire in three parliaments), and dying in Great Russell-street Bloomsbury September 12, 1762, æt. 59, he devised his whole estate to his eldest daughter Anna Maria Bold (by his wife Anna Maria, daughter of Godfrey Wentworth of Woolley Park in the county of York Esq.) who died unmarried in 1803.

offence, who, finding nothing more material to found it on, were content with this invention.

2. "And we (the officers) as usual expressed our dislike to it in the civilest manner that we could by begging of them to call for some other dance, and to defer this and such like till they were in a company they could be sure of not affronting by it."

The whole assembly, sir, is not to be involved in my guilt; they none of them called for it but me, and therefore wanted no begging to call for any other. And to me an officer came and in the civilest manner he could begged that I would call for some other dance; to which I answered in the civilest manner that I could, With all my heart; all dances are alike to me, but we are under the direction of the ladies. And my partner not appearing inclined to humour his proceeding, I begged of him to let us dance it quietly, and represented to him, in the civilest terms that I could think on, the absurdity of interposing his authority on such an occasion.

The rudeness that ensued I had no other share in than that of passing through and taking as little notice of it as I could; and the very decent jostling that was exercised upon us served to cover my ignorance of the motions of a dance which I did not know the tune of till the music began to play it. Nor could I then discover any sense in it that should give occasion for that kind of military execution which the company was then put under.

You will observe, sir, that the begging to defer this and such like dances is a petition of an extraordinary nature, and, to such as are no farther let into the secret of country dances than I am, quite unintelligible without a catalogue of decent and forbidden appellations. The time, likewise, to which the suspension of this dance and such like is to extend, is very indeterminate; for gentlemen, by their unusual behaviour, have made it extremely difficult for this assembly to be sure that no one of a company will take upon him to be affronted at a dance, when one so customary as this, a common jig with a member of parliament's name to it, may procure a man the reputation of loyalty if he will but first be affronted by it himself,

and then, by word and deed, affront the whole room which it is offered to be danced in.

3. "This would not do, the more we seemed averse to it, the more they insisted upon dancing it, crying out with one voice, *Down-with-Rump, Down-with-Rump*, several times repeated."

With one voice, Sir, the Manchester gentlemen cry out upon this as a strange instance of animosity and resolution to accuse them at any rate, without the least regard to facts or testimony. I shall make no reflections upon it, because the gentleman himself, I hope, whoever he is, upon a cool one of his own, will not repeat a thing so entirely groundless, of which whoever pleases may easily be satisfied, there being as many witnesses that can testify it to be groundless as persons then present.

4. "The dispute growing something warmer, it proceeded at length to personal affronts, which I returned with a blow, *codel*⁽¹⁾ (this copy has it, for cold, or odd, or what?) behaviour I confess it would have been in any assembly but this."

This assembly, you see, sir, is confessedly treated like no other; and a general affront put upon it, proceeding to personal ones, is made a reason for a blow from one that does not pretend that he previously received any himself. Might he not as well say — We officers are to prescribe what dances shall or shall not be called for in this assembly; if any that we dislike is called for, we will civilly beg of them to defer it during our pleasure, and if they don't, we will affront them all, and whoever affronts us upon it we will have recourse to blows.

If this, sir, shall appear to our superiors to be proper language (and comparing it with acknowledged facts you see that it is no ways exaggerated), it were better to have it known; for then the Manchester ladies would have nothing to do but to shut up their assembly entirely, as they have done upon occasion, for a time, till they supposed that a treatment universally condemned by all indifferent

⁽¹⁾ *Coddy* behaviour — small, very little, which Halliwell says is used in the *North*, but I do not recollect having heard it in Lancashire. It may have been a mild specimen of the Major's "Billingsgate," with which he threatened the Manchester ladies.

persons would for the future be forborne, and that gentlemen in no sort obliged to come to it would hardly persist in coming merely for the ungentlemanlike pleasure of either affronting or being affronted.

If such language shall be deemed improper, if a behaviour but too suitable to it cannot be approved of, you, sir, are one of the properest persons to represent it — to have it inquired into — to have it effectually discountenanced.

5. “One of our servants waiting at the door with his master’s great coat, when seeing the blow struck and imagining a quarrel would immediately ensue, run into the street and told some soldiers that if they did not haste to the assembly room their officers would be murdered — There is but three or four of them against a whole room full of Jacobites.”

This, sir, is very properly taken from the mouth of a servant that had a great coat for his master; for how the compliment of a whole room full of Jacobites would sound in the mouth of a gentleman, let any gentleman worthy of the character determine. The man’s imagination that a quarrel would immediately ensue upon a blow struck by an officer, was indeed much better grounded than his subsequent cry of murder and Jacobitism; and suppose that a quarrel really had ensued upon so apparent an occasion, who was it that would have been in fault? would not he that gave the occasion; he who having [un?]civilly disturbed all the company, did, after that, what he could not do to all, strike one of them? Who was likely to commit murder, an armed striker, or a defenceless dancer? Or must the whole room be supposed to have been full of murderers, girls and all as well as Jacobites, to account for their coming thither and needlessly provoking their united fury, which the man with the great coat saw would end in the murder of his masters if he did not hasten the soldiery to prevent it; but which his masters, you will guess from their behaviour, had no great apprehension of?

6. “This brought the soldiers, but brought them no further than the door; everything was quiet, they spoke not a word, nor (by my soul) had they any bayonets. This is all I can recollect of the affair.”

If every thing was quiet after such acknowledged provocation, it is an ample testimony of the quiet and peaceable behaviour of this distinguished assembly; a sufficient proof that they chose to bear indignities rather than return them; proof that you will not, sir, suspect from the premisses, to be owing to any bias in their favour. Is it probable that universal and repeated Down with the Rumps should end in such tranquillity after what had happened? No, Sir, you may perceive by every circumstance of this extract that gentlemen have been much to blame; this very justification of their conduct may show it, even to those who are, perhaps, less inclined to credit the complaints of any particular persons in that assembly. All that I know of the soldiers who are said to have come thither at the word of a servant (*Quid domini facient?*) is, that they would not go away at the command of a Queen. As to the rest, I am told that there are affidavits which you will better judge from. For my part it is not without regret that I mention even such particulars as nobody without an utter contempt of evidence and consequence can pretend to doubt of.

As you have the honour, sir, to represent the county, I doubt not of your embracing any proper opportunity of doing what is right with respect to them who have that of being your constituents in this part of it; I shall only add that little unheeded ill-treatments of the people are only forerunners of great ones in the parliament, and conclude myself, old acquaintance, your most obedient humble servant,

J. BYROM.

To Peter Bold Esq.

1751.

Ralph Leycester to John Byrom.

Toft, 12th January 1750-51.

Dear G. Master: With due reverence and submission I received from the hands of your godson the imperial signet, "*Frustra per plura,*" which will always from me enforce a full obedience to the commands contained under it. If in this instance or any other I am

so fortunate as to be serviceable to you or any friend of yours, it will give me the greatest pleasure. I find brother Clowes the alderman has recommended another person; but what a trifling obstacle must that be where your and my efforts are united.

I have lost my son⁽¹⁾ who was with me at your house about two years ago. He was a most promising youth, and had in his short life made many friends at home and at Bengal, where he died in March last. Philosophy very justly forbids me to lament, but sorrow must and will have its vent.

Millers and meal I find still *engross* the attention of your town,⁽²⁾ which is so populous a place that it can scarce ever fail of being taken up with some such amusements.

I desire you to accept of the kind love and respects of an old acquaintance, who will always be your dutiful and affectionate friend and servant — R. LEYCESTER.

To Dr. Byrom, in Manchester.

Post paid.

William Law to John Byrom.

King's Cliffe, February 5, 1750-51.

Mon cher ami: I hope nothing extraordinary has happened to you or the — I should be glad to hear from you. My best wishes attend you and your friends. You took a direction how to write to me in your pocket book. Yours most affectionately,

W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at his house at Manchester,

Lancashire.

⁽¹⁾ Edward Leycester, his third son, died unmarried.

⁽²⁾ It was not, however, until the 32nd of George II. (1758) that an act of parliament was obtained whereby the tenants and inhabitants of Manchester were exempted from the ancient custom and duty of grinding their corn and grain at the School Mills; but it was thereby enacted that the custom of grinding malt should be established and confirmed. The act contains sundry provisions for enforcing this right of the Grammar School — which is a principal source of its endowment — and other regulations relating to the management of these old manorial mills.

William Law to John Byrom.

King's Cliffe, Oct. 3, 1751.

Dear Doctor: It is now just two years since you have failed of your promise for October term — I am much at a loss to guess at the reasons of it. If you repent of having put your hand to the plough, I should be glad to know why. You would not favour me with [an] answer to my letter a year ago. I have lately received two or three sheets of paper, the remarks of a very learned and ingenious Deist⁽¹⁾ upon the *Appeal*,⁽²⁾ written to a gentleman in London who sent them to me. They are written with great spirit and vivacity, but leave the *Appeal* as unhurt as the northern Archdeacon did. He promises to give it a "reconsideration," and says thus of it, "I sincerely admit the preference of Mr. Law's system to any I ever met with, and since some religion is necessary for the mass of mankind, I could wish to see his system established — a spiritual Elysium." He ends his strictures with saying of the author of the *Appeal*, "whom I look upon as one of the greatest and best divines that ever did honour to mankind."

He has this postscript, viz. "I have read Dr. Byrom's poem.⁽³⁾ I think it an admirable one; and was I to believe the Fall at all, it certainly should be his system of it, far preferably to that of the Bishop's."

By this I think you may see the *Appeal* is making its way into the world, and that if you give some assistance, your labour is not

(1) Not Edward Gibbon, the future historian, who was too young.

(2) "An Appeal to all that doubt or disbelieve the Truths of the Gospel, by William Law, M.A.," 8vo.

(3) "An Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple, occasioned by two Treatises wherein the Fall of Man is differently represented, viz. (1) Mr. Law's *Spirit of Prayer*, (2) the Bishop of London's *Appendix*; showing that, according to the plainest sense of Scripture, the nature of the Fall is greatly mistaken in the latter." It begins —

Sir, upon casting an attentive look
Over your friend the learned SHERLOCK's book,
One thing occurs about the *Fall of Man*
That does not suit with the *Mosaic* plan;
Nor give us fairly, in its full extent,
The Scripture doctrine of that dire event."

myself, but divers domestic affairs intervened which prevented it — the marriage, chiefly, of my son, who, being the only youth that is left of the name and family, many things concurred to engage the attention of his friends and me in particular, both before and after the conclusion of a choice that we all approved of. When I was preparing to come up to town, my new daughter was taken so ill that I could not think it proper to leave her. She recovered, and gives me hopes upon the whole that I may take an opportunity to call upon you this October term.

I desire you to impute all failures to occurrences of this and the like nature and the continual intention of seeing you in person, which I shall either do or send you the labour which I hope will not be lost by being delayed, for that would be a failure of yours too before mine, who had it first at your disposal; and with that proviso Mr. Gurney (to whom my service) had permission to print it afterwards, but was prevented probably by accident, as I have been.

Labours of this kind afford the most agreeable occupation to me, but the depth and moment of the matters, and the fear of mistaking or treating them unworthily, may easily create an apprehension that such labours ask for a knowledge and a leisure of a degree superior to what my situation will admit of.

In the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des Savans de l'Europe pour les mois d'Octobre, Novembre et Decembre 1749*, previous to a very unjust conclusion about the *Spirit of Prayer*, &c., there is a very just one of the *Epistle*, viz. “L’auteur n’a guère fait que copier les idées du livre mentionné dans le titre.” If the raisonneur had intended a compliment, he would hardly have made one so agreeable; for, to copy true ideas that appear to be grand, simple, salutary, was the intention of the verse; and if they who imagine the ideas to be false allow the copy to be true, I should not scruple to call it, with your Deist, an admirable poem, though that compliment from him can amount to no more as yet than to an admirable romance.

I do not wonder that a learned and ingenious Deist should prefer the system of the *Appeal* to any other, for it is peculiarly striking with respect to that character, if there be any fairness in it; but if

his reconsideration does not produce conviction, whatever his learning may be, I should much suspect his genius; but I hope that he discovers that he is really a man, and that the ingenuity which exempts him from the mass of mankind does but pass a most inhuman compliment upon himself.

I cannot doubt of the *Appeal's* making its way into the world; I have met with too many instances (though I think that doubt would not [have] held me if I had not) of satisfaction given by it to suspect its future progress, which, if slower than that showy production that [is] at once admired and vanished, will become more sure and lasting.

Though you may justly blame my negligence, you never need to doubt my inclination to assist in anything under proper direction that [you] will be so good as to suggest to me; and if copying ideas in verse may deserve that appellation, I could delight to execute any commission of that nature as faithfully as I could; but having failed in one promise, though undesignedly, I dare not make you any more but that of either bringing or sending you what I did not foresee that I should keep so long the first opportunity.

In a word, I am, with cordial remembrance to the ladies H[utcheson] and G[ibbon,] mon cher maître, le votre — J. B.

William Law to John Byrom.

Dear Doctor: I thank you for the favour of yours, and the parcel. Mr. Walford stayed only the drinking of a dish of chocolate — I have sent a guide with him to Wansford. I shall take care to observe, as well as I can, your directions, but hope to see you as you pass by, and that you will make King John's House, and not the Cross Keys, your inn.

I congratulate you on being a grandfather. I wish grace and happiness to your relations and friends, and am your affectionate humble servant — W. LAW.

King's Cliffe, October 17 [1751.]

P.S. The letter to the Templar wants to be reprinted. I begin to have some jealousy about your verse. You indeed sing for me, but

so sweetly, that you may (for ought I know) sing my prose out of date. Would you have it dated from Manchester with the initial letters of your name as it is in the MS.? I think that would be best, though I don't know whether you minded that circumstance, so shall expect to hear from you by the next post.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester, in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

John Byrom to William Law.

[Rough copy.]

Manchester, October 21, 1751.

Dear Master: I am glad to hear that Mr. Walford is got so far well on his journey, and has replaced the parcel in your hands. I did not think of the circumstance of Manchester and the initials till I had put it into his, but was very easy which way so ever you should order it; all my fear was, that any circumstance should mix a nominal prejudice of any kind with truth, which is able to shift for itself, as the man said when asked why, when he told a lie, he swore to it, and when a true thing, he did not. Men of some characters, and one in particular which the verse has painted, may think to demolish truth when it is only a name that they can justly censure. As, therefore, it seems to be full as natural for the date, &c., to stand as it does, so do as you think best.

The letter to the Templar does indeed want to be reprinted; it has been oft enquired for here of late, and cannot be met with. Mr. Richardson⁽¹⁾ was so willing to print it upon hearing [it] repeated at first that I should have him to print it, and, if you have no objection, the other too—but what publisher you please, for the last some gentlemen objected to, but a kind of fear of the Bishop's displeasure I believe made him be pitched upon. I told Mr. Freke, I remember, that the Bishop⁽²⁾ had too much sense to be angry at it, and when he saw him

(¹) Samuel Richardson, the amiable author of *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison*, having acquired a competency as a printer, died in 1761 at the age of 72.

(²) Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, had probably profited by the sounder theology of the learned layman; but whether the Templar—who might be Mr. Freke—had adopted Byrom's advice, does not appear:

he was saluted with — “Well, have you helped Dr. B. to make his verses?” — and when he came away — “You may tell your friend that I don’t take it amiss.” I was told by an honest, well-inclined man a while ago that he wished that the *Letter* might be printed in the same compass with the *Spirit of Prayer*. If it were done both ways, the connexion that it has with that would I dare say procure it purchasers, and the smaller edition especially, because of the intention hinted to me of binding them up together; without which I may be jealous in my turn that the verse will drop for want of its support — it wants to cling like an ivy to an oak. The tree I hope will root and flourish, whatever becomes of the little shrubs that aspire to embrace it. I thank you for your congratulation, and am, with hearty return of all good wishes to you and all belonging to King John’s court, his obedient subject and servant — J. BYROM.

William Law to John Byrom.

King’s Cliffe, November 4, 1751.

Dear Doctor: Before I had the favour of your last I had sent the piece to the press, but had desired Mr. Innis to let Mr. Richardson print it. I have removed your Greek, and set it in the titlepage to puzzle many beholders. The title is — *Enthusiasm: a Poetical Essay, in a Letter to a Friend in Town.*⁽¹⁾ On the back side of the page the Editor informs the public that it is by the same tall man, &c. Mr. Freke and Mr. Richardson correct the proof sheets. I

Persuade your mitred friend, then, if you can,
To reconsider, Sir, the *Fall of Man*;
To see and own the *depth* of it; because,
Till that is done, we may as well pick straws
As talk of what and who the serpent was
That brought the Fall, *not understood*, to pass.

Byrom’s *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 13, ed. 1814.

(¹) Printed in both the editions of Byrom’s *Poems*. In the first collected edition there is a sensible Letter to a Friend on the subject of Enthusiasm, wherein it is stated that the *Poetical Essay* was occasioned by Mr. Law’s *Appeal to all that Doubt, &c.*, and referring to p. 305 of that work. The letter is dated “Manchester, September 3, 1751,” with the initials, “J. B.” See p. 366, *Note*, ante. The “Greek” referred to by Law is omitted.

wish as before to all your family. Your most affectionate humble servant — W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

W. Warburton⁽¹⁾ to *John Byrom*.

Bath, December 12, 1751.

Sir: I read with pleasure your *Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple* some time ago, and just now your *Essay on Enthusiasm*, in both of which I find myself honoured with your censure. But it is not this I pretend to complain of. You have doubtless an uncontrolled right to speak your sentiments of my writings. What I think an injustice to myself, and inconsistent with your professions of Christian charity and universal benevolence, are your insinuations of my being an unbeliever and an enemy to Christianity, that I regard *Christians as a brainsick, visionary crew*.⁽²⁾ What handle have I ever

(1) Warburton, writing to Hurd January 2, 1751-2, asks: "Do you know Byrom's character? or have you seen his two Epistles, one a year or two ago, on occasion of Sherlock's book of Prophecies, and the other, just now, on Enthusiasm? He is certainly a man of genius, plunged deep into the rankest fanaticism. His poetical Epistles show him both, which, were it not for some unaccountable negligence in his verse and language, would show us that he has hit upon the right style for familiar didactic epistles in verse. He is very libellous upon me; but I forgive him heartily, for he is not malevolent, but mad." — *Letters to Hurd*, p. 97.

(2) Warburton's character was never sketched with more life and spirit than in this *Essay*, as the following extract will show:

"Another's heated brain is painted o'er
With ancient hieroglyphic marks of yore.
He old Egyptian mummies can explain
And raise them up almost to life again;
Can into deep antique recesses pry
And tell of all the wherefore and the why,
How this philosopher and that has thought,
Believed one thing and quite another taught;
Can rules of Grecian sages long forgot
Clear up as if they liv'd upon the spot.
What bounds to *nostrum*? Moses and the Jews
Observ'd this learned legislator's views,

given for so unchristian a reflection? I have occasionally⁽¹⁾ made frequent professions, and without the least ambiguity, of my sincere belief of Revelation. I have done more. I have composed books in defence of it; and though on such principles as you condemn, that can never justify you in representing me as an infidel, unless the *faith* be to be transferred from Jesus and His doctrines, to your Apostle Mr. Law and his. You would convince men of the truth of the Gospel by inward feelings; I, by outward facts and evidence. But for this difference, why should I be any more an infidel to you than you are to me? It was not thus the first preachers of the Gospel treated each other, when one attempted to bring men over to the name of Christ on Jewish principles and reasoning, and another on the pagan. The thing which seems to have given you most offence is my laying it down from a principle that the early Jews had little notion of, and were not at all influenced by, the doctrine of a future state; and I appeal for the support of it to their history as we find it in the Bible. You may have a clearer revelation of this matter. Yet as the error, if it be one, was not enforced to depreciate Revelation, but to show the necessity of the Gospel (for infidels having urged it with that

While Israel's leader purposely conceal'd
Truths which his whole œconomy reveal'd."

* * * *

Byrom proceeds to ask:

"What can come forth from such an antic taste,
But a *clarissimus enthusiast*?
Fraught with discoveries so quaint, so new,
So deep, so smart, so *ipse dixit* true —
See arts and empires, ages, books, and men
Rising and falling as he points the pen!

* * * *

Where erudition so *unblest* prevails
Saints and their lives are *legendary tales*, —
Christians, a brainsick, visionary crew,
That read the Bible with a Bible view,
And through the *letter* humbly hope to trace
The living *Word*, the *Spirit* and the *Grace*."

Poems, vol. ii. pp. 20, 21, ed. 1814.

⁽¹⁾ As occasion served.

bad design, I endeavoured to turn it against them to a contrary purpose), methinks it did not deserve so severe a censure as accusing the writer of infidelity.

But I have dwelt too long, perhaps, on a matter merely personal. I agree with you, that it is very absurd to confine the passion of enthusiasm to religious matters; it extends itself throughout the whole commerce of life, though I differ from you in your definition of it, which I think very imperfect. You suppose enthusiasm consists in the mind's being carried with eagerness and violence towards its object. I imagine this alone does not constitute the passion, and that justly to charge the mind with this weakness you should add, that, in its progress for the establishment of the supposed truth which it makes its object, *the conviction of its conclusions exceed the evidence of its principles*. From this time truth begins to be betrayed, and the inquirer after it justly incurs the character of an enthusiast.⁽¹⁾ But if enthusiasm consists in this, then I am afraid the religious enthusiast (contrary to the position of your whole poem) is much more blameable and hurtful than an enthusiast of any other species, as his object is of infinitely greater importance than that of others.

I don't know whether I am to apologize, or have a right to your acknowledgments, for this expostulation; for it is the first I ever made to the vast numbers who have abused me to the public; and you are entitled to it, as I think you the only honest man of that number.⁽²⁾ It concerns me, therefore, to find you in such company, and that I have no better an opportunity of professing myself to be, what in truth I am, Sir, your affectionate servant and faithful brother in Christ — W. WARBURTON.

⁽¹⁾ Warburton expresses the same opinion in his "Letter to Hurd" on the subject, p. 99. See the quotation on p. 366, *Note*, ante.

⁽²⁾ This is no slight testimony from this great man, more particularly when the severity of Byrom's attack is taken into consideration. But Warburton, though warm and impatient of opposition, was a magnanimous opponent.

1752.

John Byrom to W. Warburton.

Manchester, Feb. 22, 1752.

Honoured Sir: I take the opportunity by an acquaintance going to London, where I understand you are at present, of acknowledging the receipt of your letter, which I read with pleasure, because it seemed to me that difference of sentiment had not led you into any censure but what I might fairly take, and believe to be intended, in very good part. Like a man of sense, you allow the liberty of differing from you, and expressing your sincere belief of revelation, you complain of my representing you as an infidel, "which cannot (your words are) be justified unless the faith be to be transferred from Jesus and his doctrines to your apostle Mr. Law and his."

Here, you do not only insinuate or represent, but assert directly, that Mr. Law is my apostle, and as directly infer that I cannot be justified unless, by a transfer of the faith that would make me worse than an infidel, he become my Saviour; for by the most extravagant supposition of apostacy, he cannot well be both. And yet, by these extremities, I suppose that you mean no more than to point out strongly to me how absurd it is to accuse a writer of infidelity because he would convince men of the truth of the Gospel by outward facts and evidence rather than by inward feelings. I see it plain enough, and allow your inferences to be just, that, for this difference, there is no reason why he should be an infidel to me, any more than I to him; and that it was not thus that the first preachers of the Gospel treated each other — whose example is undoubtedly the properest for present imitation.

Permit me, Rev. Sir, to assure you, first, that it never was in my thoughts to represent or accuse you as an infidel; and next, that it is not in my words, nor can, without a forced construction, which I hope you will not put upon them, be thence inferred. I do not however object against your calling me to an account for the most distant appearance of it; but flatter myself that upon reviewing the passage that you have cited, you will find that it does not relate at all to infidelity, but to that kind of enthusiasm — wherever it

prevails — which prompts its votaries to despise — not Christians in general but — (“those Christians as brainsick visionaries who are sometimes finding out a moral and spiritual sense in the bare letter and history of Scripture facts.”) This is the prose of the *Appeal*, and this is the plain intention of the verse when the single line which you select is connected, as [it] must be, with the following.

I would not have you to imagine that any difference in our enthusiasms shall ever tempt me to do injustice to your lively talents and uncommon erudition, or to your sacred character. I may think, as you do of others, that the former have really hurried you into paradox; but that you have too much sense as a Christian, and sincerity as a clergyman, to fall into that gross one of infidelity. Let me add that an infidel is a character considered by me as destitute in effect of those good qualities, and is indeed so represented in another passage of the *Essay*,⁽¹⁾ and consequently not designed for, nor applicable to you. If any one else had accused me of representing you as an infidel, I should have thought that an accusation without proof or appearance might be defeated by a bare denial; but to yourself I would design the fullest satisfaction — which being I presume effected, I pass on to the rest of your letter; confiding that it will not be unacceptable to openness and candour if, being honoured with your observations, I speak my thoughts without reserve as well as without acrimony.

Professing to enlarge upon a favourite author's account of enthusiasm, I was obliged, you know, to keep to that account of it as nearly as I could. You agree with me that it is very absurd to

(1) “The sprightlier infidel, as yet more gay,
Fires off the next ideas in his way,
The dry fag ends of ev'ry obvious doubt,
And puffs and blows for fear they should go out;
Boldly resolv'd, against conviction steel'd
Nor inward truth nor outward fact to yield,
Urg'd with a thousand proofs, he stands unmov'd
Fast by himself, and scorns to be out-prov'd;
To his own reason loudly he appeals, —
No saint more zealous for what God reveals.”

Poems, vol. ii. p. 22, ed. 1814.

confine it to religious matters, seeing that it extends itself throughout the whole commerce of life. I wish that they who object that it is a term appropriated to Divinity, and ought not to be otherwise applied, were as fair and considerate in this point as you are; but you think it blameable in itself, and therefore add something, very consistently, to complete your own idea; which, to be sure, you are free to do, as every one is at liberty to define his terms. But as the word has at different seasons been applied to meanings good, bad, and indifferent, I see no imperfection in this author's use of it; since it may easily be seen, from connection and circumstances, whether the passion, as you style it, be well or ill exerted, in a laudable or blameworthy manner; passions, if I remember your assertion somewhere, being productive both of good and evil.

In such a latitude as words will have in spite of definitions, you cannot always tie a writer down to one; no not yourself—for to instance, both *ad hominem* and *ad rem*:—

The author of the *Alliance between Church and State* begins his Third Book with these words of Cicero — “O magna vis veritatis, quæ contra hominum ingenia, calliditatem, sollertiam, contraque fictas omnium insidias, facile se, per se, ipsa defendat!” “Thus” (he adds immediately) “breaks out the illustrious Roman orator, carried away with a fit of philosophical enthusiasm.” Now philosophy — fit — rapture — added to enthusiasm, heighten greatly the idea of it; and yet I would ask the Alliancer what weakness is there, or how is truth betrayed in Cicero's enlivened manner of expressing “Magna est veritas, et prævalebit”? Has not he himself adopted what was said in a fit of enthusiasm concerning the force of truth, by thus subjoining — “This force of truth never shone with greater lustre than on the present occasion, where by the assistance of a few plain and simple principles, taken from the nature of man, and the ends of political society, we have cleared up a chaos of controversy, proved the justice and necessity of an alliance between Church and State; deduced the mutual conditions on which it was formed; and shown them to have an amazing agreement with our own happy establishment.” Thus breaks out he — carried away with a fit of political

enthusiasm ; and yet supposing that the *magna vis verborum* of both the Roman and the English orator was really supported by the *magna veritatis* too, would any arbitrary definition suffice to lay a charge of weakness — of betraying truth on either ?

The same enthusiastical — *sive lubentius audit* — sprightly author, in another work, speaking of the Eastern genius, has this description of it — “Distinguishingly great when fired by the enthusiasm of a poetic vein,” and, to show that he intended something good as well as great, he applies it to a divine composition of an inspired writer. If you agree with him, then, you will own that the enthusiasm of a poetic vein, at least, is not necessarily blameable or hurtful, since he has produced an instance wherein it coincided with divine inspiration. And indeed when you make religious enthusiasm definitively hurtful, you do it by fixing a weakness of mind, a defect of evidence, and a betrayal of truth upon a religious enthusiast, which, if you had so pleased, might have suited more exactly with the real character of an irreligious one, and have made your reason for superior blame and mischief unexceptionable — that neglect of truth in a matter of infinite importance is more blamable and hurtful than in any other.

But let enthusiasm be what you define it to be, and the religious enthusiast the most blameable of any, if you will show me this to be the case of Mr. Law, and not your own, your doctrines shall be mine, instead of his, so far as you undeceive me. I would desire to have no personal aversion or regard to you or him or any other ; but, wishing well to all, to trace their footsteps only whom *amica Veritas* appears to have conducted. While I am persuaded that many grand and important truths are admirably set forth by an honest, judicious, and impartial writer, you will excuse me if I reckon such a one, not my apostle, any more than you my infidel, but what I would call, without flattery to him or offence to you or any of the literati, for the sake of truth alone, my *Plato pro omnibus* ; for I would not with Cicero, in another fit of philosophical enthusiasm, *errare cum Platone* neither. That stretch of his alacrity is as plainly liable to your definition as the other in your fine quotation is exempted from it ; for, whether applicable to your own *Alliance*, as

you think, or to Mr. Law's *Appeal*, as I think, every one must allow that they are writers worthy of respect of whose doctrines it may be justly said —

O Force of Truth ! beyond suppression great
By human wit, skill, cunning, or deceit :
Let men attack her in what shape they please,
She, by herself, defends herself with ease !

You have no occasion to apologize, but have a right to my acknowledgments for your expostulation. Not for your reason, that "it is the first that you ever made to the vast numbers who have abused you to the public, and I am entitled to it, as you think me the only honest man of that number." No ; I am highly sensible of the compliment, but the condition thereunto annexed forbids me to accept of it. I may be mistaken, but I will not be your abuser nor any one's else if I can help it. I had no more intention of abusing the Bishop of London in the *Epistle*, whom I should accuse of contradicting Scripture, of exposing Christianity to its enemies, if to show the consequence of a position were to pass for a charge upon his Lordship of such infidelity as neither he intended to patronise nor I to insinuate, who writ not to abuse at all, but to undeceive, if possible, and disabuse ; or if in the wrong, to be undeceived myself by more enlightened judgments.

I could be glad enough, by any sacrifice but that of truth, to obtain a place amongst the friendly numbers that surround the men of genius and reputation, a purchase otherwise too dear. If you found me in different company, it was because you had thrust me in amongst them against my will ; and if you are not a greater enthusiast in this case than I take you to be, your concern to find — mine for being found — the sufficiency of their numbers without me — and my being quite a stranger to them all, will induce you to release me from such a disagreeable and (if differing sentiments may as well sharpen friendship as blunt or break it) unmerited confinement.

I employed the first proper leisure that I had to write fully and freely in reply to yours ; and should have sent it sooner but that I had also taken the liberty of expostulation upon some of your treat-

ments, which I knew not how to reconcile to your just remark upon the practice of the first preachers of the Gospel. Unable to contract within compass, and doubtful of transgressing upon your indulgence farther than my own defence required,—that of others, which, if my hopes avail, your own recollection will render needless, I thought it better to forbear, and to add no more but my sincerest thanks for your fraternal professions of affection in Christ; ⁽¹⁾ with an hearty desire of being, in return (through His grace) with all affectionate fidelity, Reverend Sir, your real friend, well-wisher, and humble servant — J. BYROM.

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

March 19, 1752.

My dear friend: I have often observed that most of the absurdity and ridicule we meet with in the world is generally owing to the impertinent affectation of excelling in characters we are not fit for, and for which nature never designed us; and from this observation I have made it my rule to avoid splitting upon this rock; therefore beg to be excused accepting the office of your counsellor. A friend is no friend who acts with reserve; and though I will not be your counsellor, as a friend I will deal plainly with you, by telling you my thoughts of the several queries you have put to me. But before I enter upon them, give me leave to comment a little upon the artful manner in which you address me — “How do you do?” You recall to my mind the tyranny of a mistress, who, knowing her power, after she has raised the resentment of her lover to the highest pitch, blows it all off again by a few engaging expressions and soft glances. “How do you do?” Could any one have suspected honest, plain-dealing Dr. Byrom of so much craft? However, I, like the lover, forgive all past, provided you keep your promise. I have not seen Middleton’s works. ⁽²⁾ Authors of his taste, who em-

⁽¹⁾ Byrom is here, and throughout the letter, somewhat obscure. He was evidently in the situation of one who had unexpectedly hooked a larger salmon than usual, and found it necessary to be excessively wary in catching him.

⁽²⁾ Dr. Conyers Middleton had long been treated by Pearce, bishop of Rochester

ploy their abilities in the school of infidelity, are my aversion. I leave them to those who are capable to unravel them ; by the account I have of them, your verses will be very proper to be published. Your inimitable poem upon *Enthusiasm* has been received with great applause by all true judges of it. Not to detract from the merit of the poem, they say that your preface to your friend is one of the correctest pieces that ever appeared in the English language, as well for style as matter. Few indeed are the judges who consider it as they ought ; but those who do, are in raptures whenever they speak of it. You must not therefore carry your modesty to such a height as to banter us with the epithet of a poor provincial muse, since we have nothing here that can be compared with it. Alas ! the centre of judgments round me is most miserable. The topics of conversation here run chiefly upon our corruptions ; but what is most to be lamented is, that there seems to be as little regard had to the means of reforming them by those who disclaim them as by those who commit them. If vices are now and then reprov'd in our public lucubrations, the levities intermixed with them, which is often the case, show that the authors mean no more than to recommend themselves to the taste of some of their better disposed readers for their own benefit, without the least consideration of the pernicious consequence of introducing profane subjects with serious. But why are all these things thus ? I answer — Our shepherds have not yet discovered whereabouts Paradise stood ; to my astonishment I heard one of them describing it geographically. Poor souls ! in what a wretched condition must the sheep be that have such wretched

and by others, as an enemy to Christianity, who, under the flimsy pretext of defence, meant nothing less than subversion, and it seems to be now admitted that, notwithstanding his great attainments in profane learning, his views of Divine revelation were narrow and sceptical ; and with hostile feelings towards the Church and churchmen it excites no wonder that he failed in obtaining both respect and preferment. Byrom castigated this unsound writer in his admirable "Remarks on Dr. Middleton's examination of the Lord Bishop of London's Discourses concerning the Use and Intent of Prophecy," being a poem of one thousand lines. Sherlock's famous Discourses were first published in 1725, although unnoticed by Middleton until 1750, when he treated his old friend and fellow collegian with great asperity and injustice.

shepherds to lead them! My opinion of W[arburton] has always been the same with yours, and I think you are better qualified to draw your brief yourself than any one for you.

The divers other causes you mention will require your personal appearance if you desire to know anything about them, and that desire will, I hope, prompt you to satisfy the wishes of your most sincere friend and affectionate humble servant — JOHN LINDSAY.⁽¹⁾

W. Law to John Byrom.

King's Cliffe, March 27, 1752.

My dear Doctor: I thank you much for the favour of yours and that of the expostulator. He seems to be sensible of your magnitude, for I never saw him write in so humble a style before.⁽²⁾ You have, I suppose, transcribers at hand, and therefore should be glad to see the copy of yours to him. If it is too much for a single sheet by the post, you have somebody or other of your tradesmen frequently coming to Stamford; if you should send it that way, let it be left for me at Mr. Rogers's a bookseller in Stamford. I have been much congratulated by my friends on my poet.

The ladies at King John's old palace send their kind respects,

⁽¹⁾ John Lindsay, a very learned and pious divine of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and minister of the nonjurors in Trinity Chapel, Aldersgate Street, London. He was for some time a corrector of the press to Mr. Bowyer, the printer. He died June 21, 1768, æt. 82. He translated Mason's excellent "Vindication of the Church of England," and published it with very valuable additions in 1726, folio, and also printed in 1747 Mason's two sermons, preached at Court in 1620. He was also the author of "The Short History of the Regal Succession," &c., with "Remarks on Whiston's Scripture Politics," &c., 1720. At the end of an advertisement of his translation of Mason, which is now a scarce book and an indispensable one in the Consecration controversy, on the last page of the edition of his "Short History of the Regal Succession," published in 1731, he subjoins to his name the melancholy words, N.B. "Laudatur et alget."

⁽²⁾ On Law himself Warburton laid on without mercy. See particularly the attack in Warburton's tract, "On the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit" (*Works*, vol. iv. pp. 699-707, 4to edition), and the very powerful but coarse passage with which it concludes. Warburton seems to have indemnified himself for his forbearance as regards Byrom by awarding a double measure of punishment to Byrom's "guide, philosopher and friend."

and wish that you may have for many years your children's children to rejoice with you on the day that gave you birth.

I am, with all good wishes to you, your family and friends, your most obliged, hearty friend and servant — W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

W. Warburton to John Byrom.

Prior Park, near Bath, April 3rd, 1752.

Sir: I had the honour of your favour of the 22nd of February this morning, and to add to the obligation, it was brought me hither by a relation of yours, who appears with all the advantage that can speak in favour of a stranger.

I supposed I might be allowed to call Mr. Law your *apostle*, because I think you say (on account of his *preaching true doctrine to you*) he shall be your *Pope*,⁽¹⁾ and the Pope, you know, pretends to much higher prerogatives than the Apostles ever claimed. But in truth that expression might better have been spared. For when I complained of hard words, it would have been more prudent not to have returned them, though I was as far from thinking you an apostate as you profess you was from thinking me an infidel. But yet a private letter and a public paper are two very different things.

As to enthusiasm, it is generally agreed there are two sorts, an innocent and a hurtful. The first of which is chiefly employed in drawing pictures from the imagination; the other, in advancing opinions as the result of the judgment.

(1) "O how much better he from whom I draw,
Tho' deep, yet clear — his system — Master LAW!
Master I call him; not that I incline
To pin my faith on any one divine;
But man or woman, whosoe'er it be
That speaks true doctrine, is a *Pope* to me.
Where Truth alone is interest and aim,
Who would regard a person or a name?
Or in the search of it impartial, scoff
Or scorn the meanest instrument thereof."

Byrom's Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple.

The occasion both of your and Mr. Law's writing was given by those who spoke of the mischiefs of the hurtful kind, when employed in the sciences rather than in the arts. This only I had in view when I gave you what I take to be the true definition of it.

In the places you refer to in my writings, where I speak of enthusiasm, it is plainly of the harmless kind, a warm and vigorous effort of the mind, exerted on subjects of the imagination.

I presume therefore your candour will allow that there is only a seeming contradiction between what I say in those places and what I advance in my letter.

You seem to hint at my treatment of some persons or parties, which you cannot reconcile to a remark of mine in that letter. If you mean particulars, give me leave to tell you that I never began with any man, nor ever wrote an answer to any book. I never treated any one roughly till I had been atrociously injured; and of a hundred writers against me, never answered above two or three. If you mean parties; on this subject possibly we shall never agree. But whichever you mean, I will venture to say that I never *misrepresented* either person or party, nor ever *aggravated* what I censured or condemned in either.

Your translation of the fine passage from Tully I think equal to the original; which gives me an opportunity of saying how much I think the literary world loses by your not applying your talents more to poetry, in which you appear naturally formed to excel.⁽¹⁾ I know you will say that you have higher and more serious objects before you; which may be true. However, to cultivate an Horatian genius, in a vicious and debauched age — *non ultima laus est*.

Though I reckoned you in the number of those who had thought fit to write against me, I by no means put you into their rank whose abuse is praise. You are found in that which the best writers aspire

(1) The admirers of Byrom, as a poet, will be contented to abide by the opinion of Warburton, and to leave the unlucky jeers of an arid writer like Dr. Pegge to the guidance of the anonymous critics of our day. See *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, No. 41, p. 292, Oct. 11, 1856.

to : modesty therefore should not hinder you from reflecting, that a dash from your pen is not an indifferent matter.

I am, and shall be always, glad of an opportunity of showing how much I am, Sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

W. WARBURTON.⁽¹⁾

J. Houghton to John Byrom.

April 8, 1752.

Dear brother Doctor : If I could sooner have given you an account of the commission I was intrusted with you should sooner have heard from me ; but finding upon the enquiry I made immediately upon my coming to London that Mr. Warburton was gone down to Bath, I chose rather to carry the letter myself than send it by post. Dr. Davis⁽²⁾ the other day introduced me to him, and I delivered him your letter and was very graciously received. He expressed a great respect and esteem for you, from the character he had heard both of your good heart and good head, and from the notion he had formed of your great talents for poetry from the few specimens he had seen, and promised to write to you very soon, which Dr. Hartley told me yesterday he had done. I had some conversation with Hartley before, who gave me the history of the affair. He it seems read your verses to Mr. Warburton, who was very well pleased with the poetry, and showed him the letter he had writ to you upon it. Dr. Hartley seemed at first rather to blame your treatment of Mr. Warburton ; not that his treatment of others had not deserved it, but he thought you should not have done it. We had a long conversation

(¹) Warburton's Letters are delightful, and every one which can be retrieved is a great literary gain. The two, now for the first time published, show him in so amiable a light that every one who takes an interest in the full developement of his character will hail their appearance.

(²) Richard Davis, or Davies, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1730, M.A. 1734, M.D. 1748. He was of Shrewsbury, but afterwards of Bath (see p. 438, ante), and an original subscriber to Byrom's "Method of Short-Hand" (ib. p. 294). He contributed a paper to the "Philosophical Transactions," 1748, Abr. ix. p. 556, and published "The General State of Education in the Universities, with a particular view to the Philosophic and Medical Education," 8vo, 1759, and in the following year "An Essay to promote the Experimental Analogies of Hood," 8vo, Bath.

about it, and the next time I saw him he told me he had read the verses again and was convinced they could not without force bear the interpretation Mr. Warburton had put upon them. He told me about your publishing your shorthand, and said he was sure, if you would promise the world that it should be published in twelve months upon condition that you had a thousand subscribers, he could answer for that number being got. He bids me give his service to you, and tell you he wishes to see you here, and he would get you so many scholars as would bear your expenses. A bit of a letter from you would be very acceptable to yours sincerely —

J. HOUGHTON.

Love to all, as due.

John Byrom to W. Warburton.

Manchester April 10, 1752.

Reverend Sir: I have just received the pleasure of yours from Prior Park, for which I would return immediate thanks, both to you and to my honoured kinsman, to whose agreeable execution of his embassy I am indebted for the supply of what I feared might be defective in my letter.

Your indulgence of the freedom that I took in explaining my sentiments when taken notice of by one whom, though I differ from, I believe to have endowments that may excite in any fair opponent the *Utinam noster esset*, encourages me to cherish still farther hopes of agreement with you on some subjects, and of improvement in such as we may differ in, at least so far as to escape excesses even in those on which (you observe that) possibly we may never agree.

I regarded your intention more than a word that slipt you in calling Mr. Law my apostle; and, believing no apostacy in your meaning, I should not have dilated on it had I not supposed it to be something of an excuse to you if, being as liable as yourself to such unwilful slips, there should be any such that I had unwarily fallen into. You are arch, though, in supposing the word allowable because — “I think you say (on account of his preaching true doctrine to you) he shall be your Pope, and the Pope, you know, pretends to

much higher prerogatives than the Apostles ever claimed." He or she — for truth is neither male nor female — that speaks true devotion, is a Pope to me. Now if there be a Pope that claims as you affirm, it is plain from the untruth of such doctrine that he can be no Pope of mine, his vain and known pretences excluding him from that authority which truth alone can give him, and which it will give to you, as well as to Mr. Law, whenever you aspire to this kind of popedom with that success which I wish you heartily to obtain.

Your explications relating to enthusiasm incline me to a present hope that our difference on that subject is no greater than what the adopting of your own expression may compose — "It is generally agreed there are two sorts, an innocent and a hurtful." If you will permit me to admire the right sort when I see its force or its description in your writings or in any other, I may well allow you to condemn the wrong, when you have only that in view, without even seeming contradiction.

Not being conversant in the writings of those who have atrociously injured you, I may not be a judge whether you were sufficiently provoked to any treatment that appeared to me to be hardly reconcilable to your just remark upon the conduct of the primitive Christians. But this hardship must needs occur where no such provocation is specified. Though I am neither Hutchinsonian, Methodist, nor monk, yet, where you charge them in the lump with dulness, madness, or misanthropy, you seem to do it with a vivacity as free from argument as it is from malice. You expose a writer who had, it seems, a posture of defence that demonstration could not make amends for changing; he deserves to be exposed. "A bigot," you observe, "is ever ready to bestow opprobrious names on those he fears and hates;" so does he. But is not *this* an unexpected inference: — "Commend me therefore to those honest zealots the Methodists, who spend all their fire against vice. It will be said, perhaps, they are mad. I believe they are. But what of that? They are honest. Zeal for fancies and opinions of our superiors is the known road to preferment; but who was ever yet so mad as to think of rising by virtue?"⁽¹⁾

(1) Preface to the second volume of the "Divine Legation," first edition.

It is by such as these apparently unprovoked, and, however true in respect to particulars, yet in all candid estimation too general reflections, that I thought the pleasure which a reader perceives in such a masterly command of language as you write in might be interrupted.

I will confess to you that what most affected me was a note that treated Mr. Law's *Appeal* as a system of rank Spinozism (which passes commonly, you know, for Atheism), by one who has defended Mr. Pope from that atrocious imputation, so compendiously, that in one page of the *Appeal* (p. 302) the sum of all the arguments in favour of the poet appear in the divine's discussion of Dr. Trapp's unthinkingness about enthusiasm;⁽¹⁾ and one has the satisfaction to see in one particular (the want of which in others, respect to great abilities forces an enthusiast to regret — and vigorously) Law and Warburton agreed. Can you will that I should wish it to be, or enjoy it while it is so in the main — Warburton and Trapp? I appeal to your own innocent, warm, and vigorous enthusiasm. You have given me a genteel rebuke, and I thank you for it, that “a dash of my pen is no indifferent matter.” Tell the man who proclaims his high opinion of that system, and cannot suffer in himself any sort of contempt for you, what he must say to such a stroke from your pen.

This was, chiefly, what once I thought to have enlarged upon in return to your first favour; but your second is a farther inducement to submit it to your own leisurable reflection; and I only mention it now to prevent a misunderstanding that I apprehend from your saying, “If you mean parties — on that subject possibly we shall never agree.” Possibly not; for what party is there that agrees with itself for any long duration? or which of them is free from claims analogous to what you accuse the Pope of? and which a downright party man, I doubt, is but too prone to claim, by constitution, for the Pope that he has in his belly.

(¹) In 1740 Dr. Joseph Trapp, rector of Harlington in the county of Middlesex, and vicar of Christ Church and St. Leonard, Foster Lane, London, published a “Reply to Mr. Law's Answer to certain Sermons by Trapp against the Methodists on the text Eccles. vii. 16.” Dr. Trapp died in 1747, æt. 68.

It is in things of more important and universal kind and concern that I should be glad not to differ from divines. My objection to the Pope of Rome is chiefly this, that he is no Catholic; and I judge of you, that though you should conceive your own party to be the best upon the whole, you would not forbid one to import a truth, a benefit from any other, that yours perhaps may want or be defective in; and then — on this subject possibly we may never disagree.

I am glad that the translation of your fine passage from Tully pleases you; and would not object higher and more serious objects before me as a reason for not applying more to poetry, which you seem to advise, but that an endeavour to display any of those objects in poetry must displease the eyes that do not see them in the same light that I do.

In such a case modesty should and shall again oblige me to consult with other judgments than my own.

In the mean time I thank you for the share that I have had of yours, to which I find myself disposed to pay the utmost deference that the common end which, I presume, we both of us would aim at, truth and liberty, will justify; and am, as much for your corrections as your compliments, Reverend Sir, your obliged, humble servant — J. BYROM.⁽¹⁾

[Shorthand.]

John Byrom to J. Houghton.

Manchester, April 14th, 1752.

Dear brother and trusty ambassador: I had yours on Monday morning, informing me of the success of your negotiation, which you did right in, and I thank you for transacting it in person. Mr. Warburton had given me his account of it the post before, in these terms — ‘ Sir, I had the honour of your favour of the 22nd of February this morning, and to add to the obligation, it was brought me

⁽¹⁾ And now exit Byrom from the lion’s den safe and unscathed, the only individual who ever as an aggressor sought the monarch of the wood without carrying back with him some terrible evidence of the encounter.

hither by a relation of yours, who appears with all the advantage that can speak in favour of a stranger," &c.

The justice of this compliment pleases me so well, that I shall not insist upon the share that I might claim in the obligation that you have laid us under. It is a great satisfaction to me to learn that Dr. Hartley is alive (and alive like to be I hope) at Bath. When I received Mr. Warburton's first letter, it being sealed with black wax, I was quite afraid of meeting with the reverse of such agreeable news; for I did not dream of any body else at Bath but my old friend whose loss the letter I apprehended would have acquainted me with.⁽¹⁾ I am glad you gave him an occasion to be convinced that the verses could not fairly bear the construction which I suppose he thought that they would when Mr. Warburton showed him his letter to me. I know that his mildness and extreme good nature⁽²⁾ may still suggest to him that though what the lines will bear might have been said by others, yet it should not have been said by me; and he has given himself an admired instance of this mildness in his gentle resentment of Dr. Mead's reflections upon him;⁽³⁾ but if any friend of his had taken greater liberties in his defence, supposing as I do a foundation for them, Dr. Mead could not reasonably have been very angry with Dr. Hartley's vindicator. Self interest or self respect may incite a man to misrepresent or aggravate matters, which Mr. Warburton tells me (but others must judge whether) he never did. But in the case of Mr. Law, where no other interest but that of Truth inspires (to copy his impartial reasoning), if the sacrifice to her should give a man the pain of displeasing, he must either desist and leave her rites unperformed, or he must be content to suffer for her sake the imputation of transgressing the rules of a certain personal politeness which is always commendable but when it is preferred to her.

I have long enough expected that some fitter person of greater rank,

(1) Dr. Hartley died at Bath Aug. 28, 1757, æt. 52, of calculus in the bladder.

(2) There is something peculiarly pleasing, and which quite bears out this character, in Hartley's portrait prefixed to the later editions of his "Observations on Man."

(3) He published a Letter to Dr. Mead on the different methods of exhibiting Mrs. Stephens' medicine for calculus, "Ad virum Clarissimum Ric. Mead M.D.," &c., 8vo. See vol. ii. part i. p. 152, Note 1.

ability, and authority, would either show the evil of a book that appears to me to be so remarkable, or do some justice to the goodness of it; it certainly merits a more witty or more serious answer than comparing of its author to Oliver's porter, or adding to a *Dunciad* the bare and seemingly horrid affirmation of its being a system of Spinozism amounts to.

I have confessed to Mr. Warburton that this last note of his was what affected me the most, and have appealed to his own innocent enthusiasm (for he agrees that there is both an innocent and a hurtful sort, and I shall ask no more from him) what he will have a man who esteems that system so highly to say to his calling it what the world calls Atheism. If Dr. Hartley be of opinion that a divine legation, without belief or influence of a future state, was really that of the prophet Moses, I cannot ask him to consider the reasons which either I or others might have for remarking upon so strange an absurdity, since he must think of it in another manner, and it will be consistent in him to be displeased with any opposition to so important a discovery; but if he is not of that opinion, he will try to bring so acute a writer as Mr. Warburton out of so blunt, and, without impeaching his intention, so dangerous a mistake. For my part, a prophet of God that did not teach but conceal, a people of God that did not know or care for this futurity, is — I know not what to call it, for it is not, there is no such thing.⁽¹⁾

As to shorthand, the present state of my health and finances does not permit me to make promises that I cannot promise myself a fair certainty of fulfilling. I have many obligations to Dr. Hartley upon account of this favourite invention, and so I have to you and one or two more; and as far as the least part of our friendship is concerned, the money that I have received, it lies by either for patience

(1) It may be doubted whether Byrom had carefully read Warburton's "Divine Legation," or was fully in possession of the whole of the writer's system, on an attentive consideration of which many superficial difficulties disappear. One of the fairest, and at the same time soundest, judgments upon this master work and its argument is that contained in the Sermons in Bishop Copleston's "Remains," to which the reader may be referred. With all its faults and imperfections, the "Divine Legation" is a noble effort of genius, and in its main fabric solid, unshaken, and unassailable.

or demand ; but for others who took in subscriptions, they took likewise such particular care about them as to leave me the hopes only that what they would not trust me with they have returned, as indeed there was not so much occasion for them, since I understood that for the most part as much of the method had been shown as inclination wanted to see, for the sake of subscriptions that I never was acquainted with. The loss of Willy Chaddock intervening and—but I forget that I am going out of my element, which is to bear the blame, since appearances are against me, and had their effect before I knew of them, and some which conscience alone that does not extend to others can solve. To publish shorthand is what I ought to do, what I long to do, what cost me all my little treasure and its usual income to procure me the future privilege of doing, what I still hope to do some way or other, but what I cannot do till I can do. The Doctor's invitation to Bath is extremely kind ; but if I should ever have the happiness to see him there, I would rather take my chance than limit that felicity by any conditions. You have given me the pleasure of enjoying at second hand so agreeable a conversation. For the rest, present my service and my thanks to Dr. Hartley, and all due salutations and good wishes to Mrs. Hartley ; and so, trusty and well-beloved, here is a long bit of a letter, instead of a little one that you mentioned, and must take it to the ambassador's lady, that it may go this post, the last obliging me to pay a speedy respect to that from Mr. Warburton, which the advantage of your presence procured for yours sincerely — JOHN BYROM.

Service to Dr. Davis your introducer, to Peter

Leigh, and how long do you stay ?

John Byrom to William Law.

Tuesday morning, April 21 [1752.]

There has been no opportunity of obeying your direction in sending the answer to Mr. W.'s first, which you have a copy of, and the short notice of one at present but just affords a leisure for an hasty transcribing of it, together with his second and its answer, for your perusal and opinion of this new and unexpected corre-

spondence, and how to manage in returning civilities and preserving freedom properly in case of a continuance, with which you will favour his excellency your poet.

William Law to John Byrom.

King's Cliffe, May 14, 1752.

Dear Doctor: Mr. Innis has informed me that my book is just coming out of the press. I have ordered him to send three or four of them to you, as a small acknowledgment of my obligations to you.

He has put the *Epistle to the Templar* into the press, which I desired (as you mentioned) might be in the form of the *Spirit of Prayer*. He was for adding it to it, but I advised him to print it apart, that it might be as fit for the former as later buyer of the *Spirit of Prayer*, and equally left to both to add or not add as they please. I have lately had two letters from your neighbour John Walker, which have cost me a good deal [in] postage, by his odd manner of directing them, viz. to me *near Northampton*. But the greatest oddness is in the letters. I am in expectation of seeing your strictures upon the Mosaic legator.

The ladies always desire their compliments, and you have the fullness of my best wishes to you and all yours; and am, with much affection, your most obedient servant — W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

[From a defective Shorthand copy.]

John Byrom to Dr. Hartley.

Manchester —

Dear Doctor: I thank you for yours by my brother-in-law, who is now come home. He had before given me the very great pleasure of knowing that you and Mrs. Hartley were at Bath, which, [as] I had not of long heard anything about you, was a most agreeable information; for I hardly know anybody whose health and welfare could more excite my wishes than yours and hers.

There is nobody else I believe that I know at Bath, except Dr. Davis, to whom I desire my best respects, and to Mr. F——r if he be there. Mr. Warburton, my brother told me, was gone to London. I had a second letter from him, which I answered the next post, and spoke my sentiments to him freely and sincerely. I always liked him as a very clever man and writer, but cannot think that his setting the worst foot forward is so good a thing. I should be glad if he would draw it back, and, if he has not two good feet, slide through life with the best of them set forward.

I am glad that you lent him the book that did you good, and wish most heartily that it may do him good likewise. The haste that most clever men are apt to make will sometimes hurry them on to be teachers before they have really been instructed themselves. The complaisant resentment that Mr. Warburton has shown to my opposition to the fundamental article of his *Divine Legation* would give me hopes that he would consider better of that matter; but when a very learned and lively genius has once defended a proposition with all his might, it is more than can be expected that he should alter his sentiments in any thing material. I am told however that in a new edition that he designs to publish he will moderate in some places the excesses of the former; but if that be all, it will only render the uncastrated edition dearer to the curious, in a little time, than the corrected ones. If he returns to Bath, pray my hearty service to him.

My favourite writer of this present age has just published his *Way to Divine Knowledge*, as preparatory to a new edition of Jacob Behmen's works, which that extraordinary author is supposed to have had a divine legation to such as were able and willing to receive the benefit of them. This, I suppose, will provoke the enthusiasm of literary [men], and set some human legates at work to justify, or more probably to oppose the other. For my part —————

William Law to John Byrom.

My dear Doctor: I should have returned you my thanks for the favour of the copies of your new correspondence had not ill health for a long while indisposed me for every use of my pen.

I much approve of the manner in which you have treated your expostulator, which is both suitable to the lenity of your nature and that spirit which has more power in you than nature. He has reason enough to pay you the compliments he has done, and I believe I need not desire you to consider them as all of a piece with the erudition which you have called unblessed. The division of enthusiasm into an *innocent* and a *hurtful* is quite false, because none is innocent but that which is good, unless a man can innocently live contrary to the true end of life. Now the fop, the scholar, the miser, &c., cannot be an enthusiast in his way, till it is the governing, driving spirit of his life, and then there is an end of the innocence of it.

I have ten guineas for Dr. Deacon; if you would give them to him and draw upon me for the same by any one that comes this way from your town, as I suppose at this time of Stourbridge Fair there must be several that come this road, I should be glad to pay you in [that] way or any other manner you shall direct. My dear Dr., adieu.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

[Shorthand.]

John Byrom to William Law.

Manchester, October 16th, 1752.

Reverend Sir: I have ordered my son to pay ten guineas to Mr. Clayton, chaplain of the old church, for the use of Dr. ——— who is not capable of managing for himself, and has been so long unable to follow his business, that a numerous family of children, mostly young ones, make the friendly benefactions of this nature extremely seasonable. He has continued beyond all expectation, mine at least. I am very sorry that ill health indisposed you for

the use of your pen, both on your own account and that of others, and wish you to take care of health so necessary to that use.

I return you thanks for the very acceptable present of your last *Dialogues*,⁽¹⁾ which have extorted the use of my pen in some more verses,⁽²⁾ which, if you care for any more, I shall upon orders send you a specimen of, nor let any other person have them without you. They turn upon that sensible observation which you have so justly made the proof and criterion of religion, as if their title were something that implied the — the religion of common sense delineated.

I was afraid that the *Letters*⁽³⁾ which I sent you might have miscarried, and am glad that they came to your hands and met with your approbation. I am the more indifferent to any other, because I think I am only accountable to you for the freedom taken with your writings, and am only glad if any one like the verses as a token that they enter into the sentiments of the prose. Without that, I shall look upon Mr. Warburton's compliments in the light that you would have me, as, coming from him, they were unexpected and extraordinary; but if I should pride myself upon them, a reverse in a public pamphlet would as justly humble me — "nothing but an heavy attempt to vindicate enthusiasm and Mr. Law" — I mean the *Monthly Review*.⁽⁴⁾ There are two of them that

(1) "The Way to Divine Knowledge," 8vo, London, 1752.

(2) "A Dialogue between Rusticus, Theophilus and Academicus, on the Nature, Power and Use of Human Learning in matters of Religion: from Mr. Law's Way to Divine Knowledge." — Byrom's *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 88, edit. 1814.

(3) He alludes to his "Familiar Epistles to a Friend, upon a Sermon entitled The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit, by the Rev. Mr. Warburton," and published in his *Miscellaneous Poems*. They are six in number, and the poet intimates that the subject might be continued "in succeeding rhymes," which was probably the case in his poetical "Stricture on Bishop Warburton's Doctrine of Grace." — *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 78, edit. 1814.

(4) *Monthly Review*, vol. v. p. 462. The *Monthly Review* had been commenced in May 1749, and was conducted by Griffiths, its publisher, with occasional assistance from other "hands," amongst whom the publisher's wife figured very constantly. Goldsmith did not become a contributor till 1757. A reference to the *Review* at this period does not certainly impress a reader with much reverence for its critical

now come out, and both have treated your Dialogues as want of sense ought to treat them. One of them has taken larger pains to prejudice the world against them, or, to confirm the truths advanced in them by such futility of opposition as does them an unintended justice.

We have buried my wife's eldest sister since I wrote last, who gave us hopes, by all appearance, of her recovery from a severe fit of the gout, that we should not have lost her. I am confined at present by a coughing cold. The news of your health and of the ladies would be the most agreeable to, dear and reverend sir, yours,
J. BYROM.

William Law to John Byrom.

My dear Doctor: I thank you much for the favour of yours, for the payment of the money, ten guineas, and desire you to contrive some way of being repaid it; you may draw upon me to be paid at sight, as you please.

Pray contrive some way of sending your new verses, and don't be discouraged at your suffering on my account. I have not seen the *Reviews*, but have been told by a friend the very same thing that you say of them.

I have no trust or sense of my own abilities, but am so satisfied with the cause I am engaged in that I have no concern at all who it is that opposes. I have but one wish as to human help, and that is, to have you along with me. The ladies always desire their decisions, some of which seem to emanate very appropriately from the "Dunciad," (Griffiths's sign.) It is by no means wonderful that Griffiths's "hands" did not relish Byrom. Their Parnassus appears to be occupied by the "ingenious Molly Leapor," "the truly admirable Mrs. Cockburn," and "Mrs. Jones, whose name is an honour to her country and to the republic of letters." See *Monthly Review* for May 1752, (vol. vi. p. 213.) Mrs. Jones, however, of the three is the favourite. "Her writings are perhaps superior to any pieces of the kind that our country has produced. She is mistress of a perpetual fund of wit, ever sprightly, good humoured, gay, yet never trifling, affected, nor injudicious; her reflections are sensible, solid, and truly moral; her style clear, natural, animated, and diffuse," &c., &c., &c. What chance had Byrom to obtain a plaudit from reviewers who were worshipping such a luminary!

compliments of true respect to you, though I believe I do not always remember it. I wish everything that is good to you and yours. My dear Doctor, adieu.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

William Law to John Byrom.

October 26, 1752. K. Cliffe.

My dear Doctor: Your letter and papers dated on the 2nd instant I did not receive till last night, for which I return you my thanks. I am too interested a person to give judgment upon them, and am also afraid and jealous of myself, lest I should be too much pleased with the honour that you do me. And therefore must leave it to yourself and your own inward call to proceed as you please.

God alone must do all the good that can be done by our writings, and therefore we must remove all *meum* and *tuum* from them; and whether we plant or water, have nothing in our eyes but the will and call of God either to this or that.

I have enclosed a frank in which you may send me the remainder of the verses.

In the *Spirit of Love*, page the 3rd, in the 6th line from the bottom, *Creature* is to be read instead of *Creator*; page 29th, *as* instead of *is*; page 34, the 11th line from the bottom, *get* instead of *yet*.

You have not told me how the ten guineas are to be repaid.

The ladies send their best wishes to all your house. Adieu.

W. LAW.

R. Leycester to John Byrom.

13th November, 1752. Toft.

Dear G. Master: By virtue of the authority you have invested me with, I have taken the liberty of appointing a meeting at Altringham, Thursday next, of which I gave you notice last week; but not having heard from you since, I now repeat the same

notice, and must request the favour or a line from you by Wednesday morning's post, to know if you approve of my appointment, and if so, to desire that you would at the same time send direction to Newhall of Altringham to provide mutton and potatoes *q. s.* as usual. Yours most affectionately — R. LEYCESTER.

1753.

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

February 15th, 1753.

My dear Friend: If you esteem it a favour to hear from me, you are obliged to our good friend Mr. Law, who, of all things, exhorts his readers to avoid wrath, anger and malice, for they are of the essence of hell. Had I not been thoroughly instructed by him I should have been apt to have taken amiss your neglecting to write to me by Mr. Walford, though I must so far excuse you, that, as you had heard I was removed, you might very well justify yourself by declaring that you knew not where to address to me; you will now be informed, and I hope from this time I shall have the pleasure to hear from you, since I cannot expect to have that of seeing you. I find there is no trusting you out of sight, and I cannot blame those who have you in possession, that they are unwilling to part with you; however, I think a way may be found out to assure them of your return. They know you are too much a man of honour to permit your friend to be a sufferer, and I am willing to give bail for your appearance at a day certain; they cannot refuse so fair an offer.

I am sorry to hear by Mr. Freke that you have been out of order; I hope your disorder is only such as the advance of the season will remove. At present a good fire appears to be what you much admire; I should rejoice that you had a more generous flame to enliven you; — who knows how soon? Hope deferred, indeed, makes the heart sick, but without hope we should be much sicker; therefore it is our duty equally to be contented with our condition as to hope for a better. I am very sensible, from perusing our worthy friend, that whatever we desire and cannot

obtain is a torment, if not qualified by some higher principle, and that can only be by a resignation to the divine will, which, when duly considered, smooths every disappointment in life; happy he who understands it aright!

The controversy between Pelagius and St. Austin, mentioned by Mr. Law in his *Way to Divine Knowledge*, with relation to the freedom of the will, has raised a doubt in my mind what the compilers of our Liturgy meant in the first Collect of the Morning Service by the following expressions — “*In knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, whose service is perfect freedom:*” whether this is to be taken in the sense of God’s knowledge of us, or our knowledge of Him. If in the former, here is predestination and free-will both asserted, which is a contradiction; and if in the latter sense, the manner of expression is very dark, because “in knowledge of whom” and “in whose knowledge” are convertible terms, and “in whose knowledge” must certainly mean His and not ours. Their not understanding the freedom of the will, I doubt, has produced this obscure passage. Pray let me have your sentiments upon it.

Let me recommend to you again my proposal of being bound for you, the fancy pleases me, because it gives me hopes of seeing you, joined with the pleasure of the many congratulations I shall receive from all your friends for thinking on so happy an expedient to bring you once more amongst us. Adieu, my dear friend,

JOHN LINDSAY.

P.S. My compliments to your son and Mr. Houghton, not forgetting Mr. Walley.

William Law to John Byrom.

Feb. 23, 1753.

My dear Doctor: I was much troubled at not hearing from you, suspecting that my last was not according to your mind. I have been almost two months confined in the house, and my illness turned to pains in my head and inflammation in my eyes. But, I thank God, I am much better, though cannot yet make much use

of my eyes. I thank you for your poetry, and as soon as I am able shall read it, and write you my thoughts. I hear your learned Legation friend has given me a blow in his volume of Sermons. I have tired my eyes already, so must say no more to my dear and much esteemed friend than, Adieu.

The ladies are well and wish you better health.

I have paid the ten guineas to Mr. Walford, with my hearty thanks for the favour.

To Dr. Byrom at Manchester.

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

April 4, 1753.

My ever dear and esteemed Friend: With what pleasure I received yours requires an abler pen than mine to describe; when I came to that part where you tell me that your health is become precarious, there, I must confess, my pleasure was abated. I hope the season of the year advancing will remove whatever you find at present defective in your constitution.

You have given me a very full and fair answer to what I objected about the Collect, and have so far approved of my objection as to leave it in doubt, whether the compilers of it, by the obscurity of the expression, had not some bent towards predestination.⁽¹⁾ My aversion to that doctrine has been much strengthened by a book which I remember you formerly recommended to me — I mean Monsr. Poiret's *Divine Œconomy*, which I then little regarded, from a prejudice conceived by the character given of him in Mr.

(1) Byrom's aversion to the Genevan view of predestination was equally strong, as appears by his poem entitled "Thoughts on Predestination and Reprobation: a Fragment;" also in "The Contrast," being an Arminian view of Dr. Watts's Calvinistic Hymn, "The Potter and his Clay." In the former poem Byrom archly enquires:

"What kind of potter must we think a man
Who does not make the best of it he can;
Who, making some fine vessels of his clay,
To show his pow'r throws all the rest away
Which in itself was equally as fine?
What an idea this of Pow'r Divine!"

Lesley's preface to his works, a failure which, for the future, I shall take care to avoid, since I perceive nothing is more dangerous and more naturally leads towards blinding the understanding than prejudice. Why Mr. Lesley should have characterised him in the manner he has done I cannot imagine. Monsr. Poiret in treating on the divine prescience, distinguishes between God's Essence and His arbitrary manifestation of Himself;⁽¹⁾ and in this last he says, He wills not to force absolutely and in a necessary and determinate manner what it shall please man to do, because He has created man for ever, wholly free, and because God on His part has no need to limit or determine man. It is of very little concern to Him, or of none at all, in relation to His divine perfections. This liberty, asserted to be in the creature, is not the only way of reconciling the present state of things to the goodness of God. Yet Mr. Lesley severely censures this man, says he writes against Gods fore-knowledge, and that God knows not what sin is, though He forbids it. Poiret, according to my understanding, means that God knows sin no otherwise than as he finds His light rejected; the creature has the power of admitting or rejecting the object, but not of producing it. Mr. Lesley's abilities were undoubtedly great; I sometimes fancy he had not well considered him; for my own part he has given me great content; pray let me have your opinion of him.

Your chapter 1 Cor. 14⁽²⁾ is too knotty for me to unravel; I cannot pretend to understand it; your better judgment might be able to enlighten me, and I should be highly obliged to you in so doing; for, as I have much leisure, I am greatly delighted with speculative points, I do not mean merely for amusement, but so far as they may be beneficial to my improvement.

I never saw the sermon you mention. Mr. Law has cured me of curiosity. When I look back upon the heats excited between

(¹) See this subject fully treated in Poiret's "Divine Economy" (English translation, 1713, 8vo), vol. i.

(²) The Rev. John Lindsay appears, from this passage, to have been the friend to whom Byrom addressed his poetical Letter "On the meaning of St. Paul's expression of speaking with tongues, 1 Cor. xiv." — *Poems*, vol. ii. p. 198, edit. 1814.

the Church and the Dissenters in the reign of Q. A.,⁽¹⁾ and consider them as so much human craft, set on foot for no other end than that of temporal dominion, though then understood as if the very essence of Christianity depended upon them, I am quite sick of all controversy and canvassing points indifferent in their nature. I am sorry to say it is too much the food of our clergy, and I am afraid will ever continue so to be. They no sooner come from the University than they begin to conceive that they have discovered something nobody ever heard of before, when alas! the whole arises from their ignorance, and that ignorance very often raises a controversy which, if the world attends to it, may be profitable towards the support of life; and this, I take, is the true cause of the manifold productions we daily see.

I find that there is but one thing can prevail on you to come amongst us; as your coming depends upon that, I am not out of hopes but that I may soon see you. Your appearance, indeed, will lose much of its merit in respect to your friends, as not being on their account; however, I may venture to assure you of a hearty welcome from all, and from none more than, my dear friend, your most obliged humble servant, JOHN LINDSAY.

P. S. My compliments to Mr. Walley and Mr. Walford.

Roger Comberbach⁽²⁾ to John Byrom.

Chester, 20th Dec., 1753.

Dear Sir: I had sooner acknowledged the favour of your most elegant and obliging Epistle, but have wanted leisure ever since I received it.

The rhyming Muse, by the easy and familiar graces you have

⁽¹⁾ Queen Anne.

⁽²⁾ He was the learned and respectable prothonotary of the palatinate of Chester (son of Roger Comberbach Esq., recorder of Chester and a Welsh judge, author of several legal works), and married Margaret, only child of Edmund Swetenham of Somerford Booths Hall Esq. by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Christopher Wandesford of Kirtlington in the county of York Bart. He ob. in 1757, and is now represented by his descendant, Clement Swetenham of Somerford Booths Esq., whose father, Roger Comberbach Esq., had assumed that surname on succeeding to the Swetenham estates.

given her, has attracted such an irresistible prejudice in her favour that, though I might find something more to say in behalf of poor blank, yet it would be in vain, and therefore I shall decline it.

It is honour enough for me that my awkward enterprise should be thought worthy of your candid notice. *Pulchrum est laudari a te laudato viro*, but it would [be] an unpardonable vanity to contend with an opponent so much above me, especially after having forbore all acquaintance with the Muses for above forty years, otherwise than by rarely taking up Shakspeare, Milton, or the Classics, for relief from a profession in which, though disagreeable to the diffidence of my nature, no one has been more laborious. The slave may be allowed to rest upon his oar and for a while forget his chain in the transient contemplation of some delightful scene or magnificent object.

Verses, you know, require the writer's ease and recess, and if I had nothing else to do perhaps I should be fond of them; but, besides my other business, I am at this time employed in abstracting and tabling our city leases and deeds and adjusting their long neglected affairs, so that versifying would too much avert my attention and ill become me, and I am therefore resolved against it, though it will be no breach of my resolution to apply a few borrowed lines to this occasion :

Thyrsis Corydoni suo.

Posthabuit dulci Thyrsis sua seria ludo,
Et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum;
Tum fateor victum frustra contendere Thyrsim;
Ex illo Corydon Corydon est tempore nobis.
Tale tuum mihi carmen erat, placidissime vates,
Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per æstum
Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguere rivo.
Quid tibi pro tali reddemus carmine donum?
Vos, o Pierides, maturum ornate poetam,
Si vestri Corydonis habet vos cura favete.
Hos tibi dant calamos, Corydon, en accipe, musæ,
Quos Siculo quondam Vati, quibus ille solebat
Cantando rigidos deducere montibus ornos.

I set an high value upon your friendship and correspondence, which I shall be proud to cultivate, for I am with great truth, dear sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

ROGER COMBERBACH.

Rather than your excellent piece should be lost to the world, I desire that you would favour the public with it, and if you think proper my Ode, with two small alterations, shall introduce it; and beg leave to submit the publication to you. One of the alterations, and the chief, is to find some other epithet instead of *Jesuit* Cook. Please to favour me with an answer to this request.

Roger Comberbach to John Byrom.

Chester, 7th March, 1754.

THE long enduring slave may sometimes catch
Relief, and resting on his oar, awhile
Forget his chain, with transient prospect blest
Of rural scene, or dome magnific. Thus,
My Colin, your obliged friend, grown old
In entries and records, once more presumes,
Unpractised, to explore the Muses' haunts,
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
And fondly seeks to tune his anxious breast
With pleasing song, improvident of fame.

Melodious shepherd, such thy verse to me
As cooling draught in sultry solstice, such
As zephyrs wafted over violet beds,
Imparting and receiving incense sweet;
In early life admired for spritely tale
And easy sonnet. Silver Irwin heard
Thy soft complaining all a summer's day
Of absent fair; e'en Britain's hardy sons
Embraced the soft infection. Now mature,
What present shall the Muse bestow? — How due
The charming pipe! here, take and tune it, erst
By Syracusan shepherd graced, and him

Whose powerful numbers bent the list'ning oaks
Of Mantuan forests — third possessor thou.
If bold Theorbo claim thy riper choice,
Assume it ; at thy call obsequious waits
Urania, heaven born Muse, who, unperceived,
To Mantuan seer, thy great example, deigned
Her nightly visits ; raised by powers divine
From humble fields, he drew empyrean air
Astonished, big with rapture not his own.

No wonder, thus illumined, he foretold
Approaching bliss, bright progeny of God,
Effulgence of the eternal essence, full
Of grace and truth, celestial visitant
On earth, to lead us in the paths of peace
And justice, and restore the golden age.

Great Virgil thus. Such themes, my friend, demand
The enraptured Muse to lift thee far above
Fond flight of fabled boy, who falling found
A watery grave. Like his my feeble wing
Unhallowed fails me, hackney'd and impaired
In noisy crowds, and clogged with worldly cares.

Hide me, ye Muses, in some sweet retreat,
And cover me with humble cot, serene
And vacant, there to cherish and let grow
My ruffled plumes. Thus strengthened, thus enlarged,
To grace the copious harp with varied pause
Be mine, Miltonic art, by Gothic chime
Unfettered, Nature's lofty voice, best tuned
To sacred theme, and sacred theme to soul.
From that all-hallowed time when choral host
Angelic, on the consecrated hills
Of Beth'lem, sung to simple shepherd folk
Glad tidings — " For to you this day is born
A mighty King, to you this day is born
A Saviour, Christ, the Lord ; to God on high

Be glory, peace on earth, good will towards men,"
From that all-hallowed time, the Muses left
Parnassus ; Delphic and Dodonian groves
Grew silent ; Pan himself forsook the fields.

Thee, Pan, enamoured Mantinea mourned,
Thee soft Cyllene. Pilot Thamus heard
The lamentable dirge. Him sailing 'cross
Th' Ægean, at mid day, a mighty voice
Thrice hailed, and thrice Eubœa's concave creeks
Resounded, Thamus. Silent horror struck
The boist'rous crew, till Thamus, sore dismayed,
Resuming ill-feigned courage, spoke, Who calls
On Thamus ? Speed thee, Thamus, said the sprite,
To still Mycenæ, loudly there proclaim
This mournful truth, The great God Pan is dead.
Driven by resistless tempests, straight they gained
The silent harbour ; Thamus straight proclaimed
The mournful tale, The great God Pan is dead.
Straight the old shore of ancient Pelops rung
With dismal groans ; Arcadian shepherds caught
The bounding noise, The great God Pan is dead.
By Pan forsaken, who shall now inspire
Enchanting song, or fill the sacred pipe ?
Pan first permitted not, melodious reeds
Want use ; Pan loved the shepherd and his flock.

Fond shepherds, cease to grieve for fancied Pan.
Behold the almighty Lord your Shepherd comes,
Your God confessed, with healing on his wings
He comes. Hark how the angelic choir resound
His hallowed advent ! Join them, pipe and harp,
Lute, trumpet loud, and organ of deep stop,
Each string and golden wire with dulcet voice,
To celebrate his praise in grateful hymns,
And lift the Muses to their native heaven.

J. Freke to John Byrom.

London, May the 20th, 1754.

Ever dear and valuable friend: As you first attack me on my joints, this and your agreeable daughter will inform you that they have been locked up by a very unmannerly fit of the gout for ten weeks past — the longest time I ever was attacked by so cruel a foe; but, thank God, I am mending.

Your second request is, for me to give you my thoughts whether I look on fire or light to be material or to be considered as a body, and, to discourage me I suppose, have mentioned Mr. Law's opinion concerning it.

I know no man whom I would more implicitly subscribe to than to him; yet, as I pretend not to contradict him nor J. B., for whom I feel myself obliged to think with the highest respect, yet, as I choose rather to be guided by experiments, be pleased therefore to try if, on heating a heater to a box-iron you find it too big, when the fire is imparted into it, to be introduced into the box-iron, you must not suppose that the fire is a body possessing space and driving out the iron so as to cause this effect; or, if you consider the power of Villett's mirror over any body which it destroys by its force more than any other power known on the earth will do, whether there must not be body considered in the operation, and, as it is perceived to proceed from the sun, whether darkness has anything to do with it.

These are my thoughts, and, let who will contradict them, are provable to common eyes. But, if this be only to divert you with my notions, I have said enough to make you laugh; and so, not to give you too much of my folly, wishing you all that you do yourself, I beg leave to subscribe myself your ever obliged and obedient servant,

J. FREKE.

To Dr. Byrom.

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

April 26th, 1755.

My dear Doctor: Though in the judgment of the ladies I am irregular, their ceremonial shall be no rule for me to follow; the

operations of the mind are not the things which they study; it is the gratification of sense alone which they consult. The pleasure you have raised in me by desiring Mr. Walford to communicate to me that excellent hymn you sent him, is sufficient to obliterate the memory of your long silence; but, your compliment to my judgment is far from that sincerity which I expected from my dear doctor, and which I always thought inseparable from his character; let me endeavour to excuse you; your late neglect might, perhaps, lead you into bestowing upon me a little more than what was due to me, as after the commission of a fault, we endeavour to repair the injury by more assiduous application of our services. You desire to know my thoughts of Mr. Law's last *Dialogues*; all that I shall say about them is, as Mr. Walford is just departing, which will not allow me time to enlarge upon them, they are excellent, fitted for those who are willing to understand him; chiefly intended to explain his other works. He studies not to be applauded; his sole desire is to do us good, and to communicate to our necessities. I hear he is writing a preface to his *Appeal*. The other pieces you mention I have not seen.

Your friend Mr. Freke is gone to Bath in order to build him a house: you know it is usual for great men when they quit their posts to employ themselves in some one thing or another, as the activity of their former life cannot be wholly laid aside at once.

The most desirable things in possession are never so well known as when we are deprived of them: was this your design in withdrawing from us? If so, your charity will oblige you to return, when you will understand how necessary your presence was to the happiness of your friends, in particular to that of, my dear doctor, your most affectionate humble servant — JOHN LINDSAY.

[Shorthand copy.]

John Spanaule to Rev. James Hervey.⁽¹⁾

Rev. Sir: By these know that when I read your *Meditations upon the Tombs, The Flower Gardens*,⁽²⁾ and other works of nature, I was fully satisfied you was truly zealous for the glory of God and good of souls; and although I found some things in your *Meditations* which were not agreeable to my thoughts, yet those things did not hinder me from reading with pleasure and delight; and because I thought it was a great pity so devout a man as you (and so good an author) should drop any unwary sentences from your pen that was not right, it came into my mind to write unto you; but having little time to spare, and unwilling to give offence, I have delayed until now, and my son as well as myself takes delight in reading your *Meditations*; so that as soon as your *Dialogues*⁽³⁾ were published he sent for them, and I as eagerly as he read over the first volume, which I am sorry to find is in general contrary to my thoughts; so it's out of love I write to you; and if after you have read over the following lines you continue in the same thoughts, I hope you are got so far into the valley of humility as not to be offended with me for my love and good-will; so I shall with all imaginable brevity set down the reason I cannot agree with an imputed righteousness, and your mistake about that doctrine, and then leave it to yourself to judge whether you or I be in the right.

You tell your beloved friend Theron that you was once of another way of thinking than at the time when you wrote the *Dialogues*, by which it is plain from your own confession that you

⁽¹⁾ As this and the preceding letter, which were found among the Byrom manuscripts, appear to have been forwarded by Spanaule to Byrom, and relate to Law's peculiar views, it has been thought desirable to include them.

⁽²⁾ "Meditations and Contemplations, vol. i., containing *Meditations among the Tombs*; *Reflections on a Flower Garden*; and a *Descant on Creation*, by the Rev. James Hervey, M.A." London, 1746, 8vo. A book once very popular.

⁽³⁾ "Theron and Aspasio; or, a Series of Dialogues and Letters on the most important Subjects." London, 1753-1755, 3 vols., 8vo. The principal point which Mr. Hervey illustrates in this work, is the Calvinistic doctrine of the Imputed Righteousness of Christ, a notion which Mr. Wesley and other Arminians strongly repudiated.

are fallen from your first principles, so that your state is more to be lamented than some of my neighbours who are of the same opinion, because they sucked in their errors, as it were, with their mother's milk, by being trained up in them from their infancy, and have not fallen from their first love as you have done.

When our first parents by transgression fell from the happy state in which they were made, that they by the fall involved all us their posterity in the same miserable condition into which they were fallen, we are both agreed; so herein we differ that you say the guilt of sin which is imputed unto all Adam's posterity is such that the Lord our God cannot forgive unless satisfaction be made to His justice for the same; whereas I say it's only the fault of sin that keeps a man out of the kingdom of heaven, and for a full proof of what I say it must be observed that when the Lord God put our father into the garden of Eden He commanded him not to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, saying, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die;" therefore when it did come to pass that our first parents did eat of the forbidden fruit there is no doubt but they died as the Lord foretold; but that death was not dying to this world, but a dying to the kingdom of heaven, for they lived in this world many years after that unhappy day. And since our first parents did not beget any children until after they were fallen, all their posterity are by nature in the very same state and condition they were in, even dead to the kingdom of heaven. Now as a man that is dead to this world can neither see, feel, taste, hear, nor smell anything that is therein, neither can any soul that is dead to the kingdom of heaven, if such a one was among the saints and angels, either see, feel, taste, hear or smell anything that is therein; so that if a man or woman should leave this world before the divine quality or heavenly life that was lost in the fall be again restored, after death they must remain in outer darkness; and although the Lord inflict no punishment upon them, spoiled nature would cause endless misery, even weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; and for this cause our blessed Lord said, "Except a man be born again he cannot see

the kingdom of God." But when by the new spiritual birth a man hath a new life born in his soul, when he by death loseth the light of this world, he may then see the glorious light of the kingdom of heaven, and with all his other senses enjoy the pleasures that are there; and when it is come to pass that a man hath a new life born in his soul, he is then become righteous indeed, but this righteousness is not imputed, neither is it of works, because it is brought to pass by the grace of God and his Holy Spirit. Therefore it is a real righteousness. Now what I mean by a real righteousness is, to have spoiled nature restored to such a state of purity and perfection as that a man may be fit for the holy kingdom where no impure nor unclean thing can come. And when by the spiritual birth a man has a new life born in his soul, who is he that dare say such a one is not fit for heaven or paradise, or that the Lord our God will not admit him into his holy kingdom? Now if I apprehend your sense and meaning right you say that the Lord imputes the sin of our first parents to all their posterity, and that he cannot or will not pardon and forgive any that sin unless satisfaction be made to Divine justice. That both you and I and all that are near and dear to us may at the end of days meet together in that holy kingdom, God of his infinite mercy grant for Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour's sake, for so wisheth and so prays your real friend and servant,

JOHN SPANAUGLE.

P.S. At the 27th page in the first volume of your *Meditations upon the Tombs*, you say, "If accidents happen, they happen according to the exact foreknowledge and in consequence of the determinate counsels of Almighty Wisdom." By these you make the Lord our God author of all the mischances which befall the life of man through accidents in this world,—even all those who are accidentally drowned in the water, or by a fall from a cart or any other thing whatsoever are killed, is not only according to the foreknowledge, but likewise by the determinate counsel of God, the sense of which is so barefaced and audacious as is sufficient to shock the conscience of any man who believes there is a God

whose mercies are over all his works ; and in order to prove your doctrine you make mention of that wicked prince King Ahab, who sold himself to work wickedness, by which he filled up the measure of his iniquity, so that the Lord pronounced sentence of death against him, and that dogs should lick his blood in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth. Now I doubt not but you know right well how that by accidents not only men, but likewise infants, lose their lives, therefore you cannot say that they had filled up the measure of their iniquities, as Ahab had done ; so that what you offer for proof hath no relation to that savour, but is altogether impertinent, because there is no comparison betwixt a wicked man and infants ; and you also know that God said unto Noah and his sons, " Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed : " but afterwards the Lord appointed cities of refuge, that if any one kill a person at unawares he should fly thither for safety and dwell there safe from the revenger of blood. Now, according to your scheme, if one man kill another at unawares he is an instrument in the hand of the Lord to execute his determinate counsel, so what we call an accident comes from an invisible hand to fulfil the supreme decree. Now it is surprisingly strange to think that the Lord should inflict so great a punishment on any man for doing of his will as to banish him from his house and home, and so strictly confine him to the city of refuge that if he at any time come without the border the revenger of blood might slay him. Now whether the Lord our God reward or punish a man for doing of his will I leave it to yourself to judge, so bid you farewell -- only that I desire you to read your neighbour's writings.⁽¹⁾

Rev. J. Hervey to John Spanaule.

Weston, June 29, 1755.

Sir : I am not offended at your well-meant remonstrance, neither am I convinced by your arguments.

I thank you for what you have written already, but should be glad if you would give yourself no more trouble of this kind.

(1) Mr. Law's.

If you think it worth your while to read my other volumes you will find me still in the same — probably what may appear to you, a worse strain.

I am so far from admiring my neighbour's writings (Mr. Law's I suppose you mean), that I think it my duty to disclaim his notions. I think Dr. Owen⁽¹⁾ among the writers of the last century, and Mr. Erskine⁽²⁾ among the writers of the present century, have abundantly more of the truth, simplicity, and purity of the Gospel than Mr. Law.

I do not choose to enter upon a controversy. If you have an inclination to know more of my sentiments, you may see them explained and enforced by these holy men of God.

I believe you write from an honest heart and with a design to do good. Let me advise you, when you take up your pen with such a view, not to be too free with those reproachful words — “You are impertinent,” “Your heart is obdurate,” “You bear false witness against God.” Such methods of address I am persuaded are not the most likely means of conciliating affection or making conviction. And in a case where you oppose the voice of the Established Church, and the general current of the most eminent divines,⁽³⁾ I question whether such expressions are consistent with humility. Though I do not solicit your further correspondence, I covet a remembrance in your prayers. “Lord, what he knows not, teach thou him,” breathed before the Throne of Grace, may be a blessing to your real friend and humble servant,
J. HERVEY.⁽⁴⁾

⁽¹⁾ John Owen, D.D., the most learned of the Nonconformist writers, died in 1683, æt. 67. He published “The Doctrine of Justification by Faith, through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, explained, confirmed, and vindicated.” 4to, 1677.

⁽²⁾ Ralph Erskine, M.A., a Presbyterian dissenting minister at Dunfermline, in Fifeshire, where he died in 1752, æt. 67. His works were afterwards published in ten volumes, 8vo. Like Dr. Owen, he was a Calvinist.

⁽³⁾ John Spanaule, Law and Byrom must have smiled at the cool assumption of the writer, and have questioned whether *his* statement was consistent not merely with humility but with truth.

⁽⁴⁾ Byrom's opinion of the difference between Law and Hervey is happily expressed in the following epigram: —

William Cowper⁽¹⁾ to *John Byrom*.

Chester, July 4 [1755.]

Dear Sir: I am duly thankful for your very obliging, elegant, poetical, critical epistle, and for the trouble you have had in revising my attempt, as likewise for the improvements it will thereby gain. As to "quâ se jactat," I thought it much the same as that expression in lin. 857 of the sixth *Æneid*. *Vēnit* must be short in the first syllable in the present tense; yet Ovid begins one of his epistles, and makes *venit* (in the present tense if I rightly remember) to be the concluding spondee of an hexameter.⁽²⁾ But he might dare to take liberties.

Be assured that I will not either advertise or print what you have been pleased to send me. I am afraid of missing the opportunity by Mr. Marriott, and therefore must hastily repeat the acknowledgments of, good Sir, your much obliged humble servant,

WM. COWPER.

To Dr. Byrom, Manchester.

[In shorthand.]

Phebe brought me this [letter on] Tuesday morning, August 5th, 1755, so Mr. Cowper meant August 4th I suppose; she came from Damhouse yesterday. Mr. Walford called here after dinner, sent the stuff which Mr. Warneford of York⁽³⁾ wrote to him about in a letter

"Two diff'rent painters, artists in their way,
Have drawn Religion in her full display:
To both she sat; one gaz'd at her all o'er;
The other fix'd upon her features more;
Hervey has figur'd her with ev'ry grace
That dress could give; — but *Law* has hit her face."

Poems, vol. ii. p. 224, edit. 1814.

(¹) William Cowper of Chester Esq. M.P., of the Overleigh family, now represented by Lord Delamere of Vale Royal.

(²) The line is the first in Epist. Briseis Achilli:

Quam legis a raptâ Briseide littera venit;

but *venit* is used in the past tense, not the present.

(³) See p. 365, *Note*, ante, and add, that the Rev. Richard Warneford was admitted a Vicar Choral of York Minster 15th March 1726, and Subchanter 12th November 1747.

enclosed in one to me with a sample in it. Mr. Massey called here this morning about two gentlemen of Nantwich learning shorthand. Harrop brought his newspapers; had been at Knutsford, where Mr. Tomkinson had said he should have his, for the postmaster would not, though they were directed to his care, because he would do as Mr. Clayton would have him, who had said that he should not have them over night, though Whitworth had.

Bishop Hildesley⁽¹⁾ to John Byrom.

Bishops Court, Isle of Man, Nov. 23, 1755.

I have been thinking, dear sir, what you can have thought of your old friend and fellow-collegiate, who had the pleasure of seeing you last summer at Manchester, for his long delay in discharging his promise of writing to you. I will suppose you thought he was trusty, and sooner or later could not fail of performance, consistently with his principles. And your candour probably will suppose *Bis qui cito*, &c., with a — Better late than never.

Instead of filling a page (as is usual among the general run of epistolisers) with reasons and apologies, though I might produce many and sufficient, for being thus late in my address, I will proceed immediately to give you some account of my insignificant self, and more important situation and manner of arriving at it. In the first place four Manchester horses made a shift to drag my light carriage and lighter contents to Liverpool in one long summer's day, where I agreeably surprised my family by coming a week or ten days before they expected me. After a week's employment there in providing furniture for my manse hire, and partaking of the hospitable civilities usual among that wealthy people, we embarked on board the Whitehaven cruiser (appointed by the commissioners to attend for my transportation). We arrived the tenth morning after we set sail, and not sooner, at our intended port of Ramsey in this isle. Putting into Beaumaris Bay by contrary winds, gave me an opportunity of going on shore at the isle of Anglesey, and also at Bangor, which produced, as probably you might see in the public papers, an arch piece of poetical wit.

(¹) See vol. i. part i. p. 221, *Note*, and ante, p. 333, *Note 2*.

Upon my landing at Ramsey, the discharge of our seven cannon on board, the town flag, and a concourse of people wading up to their knees to draw our boat on shore, was the compliment expressed on the new bishop's approach, who, with his family, after some refreshment at a merchant's house, in two borrowed chaises (his own being left behind for more convenient passage) arrived at the castle-like episcopal (palace I presume not to call what is no more than a good strong country dwelling) on the evening of the 2nd of August, accompanied by some of the gentry and clergy; and where, had it been much plainer and homelier than it is, we were glad to find ourselves, after the fatigue of our tedious windings and tossings on the watery element.

The face of the country is not unpleasant to the eye, from the variety of hills and valleys and rivulets, in which there is nothing wanting to make it quite beautiful but greater plenty of trees and hedges; a defect this too readily distinguishable by English strangers from the county of Hertford. The people, who are in general sensible, plain, open and hospitable, consist of clergy, merchants and gentlemen farmers, and a sort of cottagers, who each of 'em almost to a man occupy, more or less, some portion of land. But their chief staple commodity or employment is their herring fishery, the produce of which, I am assured, amounted the season before last to no less than ten thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of what were reserved for the use of the inhabitants, which must be considerable, as their chief food through the greatest part of winter is from this fish salted, with potatoes. This sea-harvest (as I may call it) is of such importance to this country that the land one by it sometimes suffers neglect, as they happen to coincide. And so solemn is their entrance on the former that a chaplain, during the season, attends the boat-fishing fleet each morning on the shore to supplicate heaven for a blessing on their undertaking, in which the boatmen join with great attention and devotion. It is moreover appointed by a public act, that after the words "kindly fruits of the earth" in the Litany, these shall be added whenever it be used in the public service of the

church — “And preserve and restore to us the riches of the sea.” By this you will readily imagine there is a sense of religion amongst this people of Mank’s land, and indeed so there is, as far as can be collected from their regular deportment at and due attendance on the times and places set apart for divine worship; where, to the reproach of our English polite congregations, they appear to understand, even without knowing one word of Latin, the meaning of *hoc age*, *universally* kneeling, without soft cushions and stuffed stools, when they acknowledge themselves “miserable sinners,” or are called upon to *pray* for any pardon or any blessing or favour from God, spiritual or temporal; and so likewise all standing erect when they are to join alternately in hymns of praise, adoration; and making their responses audibly in proper time and place; and on the whole plainly showing that they are met to worship *God* and not one another.

This, my dear friend, you’ll say is very well, and deserves its proper commendation; but I am well aware that you, and I, are ready to observe, this is but a small part or rather the shell of or external help to religion. And we are united in our wishes, I dare say, that many, who are called devout Christians, were not too apt to mistake, and rest in the *means* for the *end* — the scaffolding for the building itself; which (if you’ll excuse the impertinence of my definition) consists of an uniformly holy or Christian temper of mind to be expressed in the three relations we stand to God, our neighbour [and our] selves. Then is our Maker truly worshipped, when we sacrifice every part and portion of our wills to His divine will. The devotion of our lips, how devoutly or frequently soever offered, hardly deserves the name of devotion, to be sure not at all, when it is separated from the holy dedication of our lives and manners.

That of our heart, my friend, that is the devotion the great proprietor of it expects, if we would be such worshippers as He will hear and accept. And I will add, (pray what think *you*?) *hic labor, hoc opus est*. But, not to tire you with a transcript of what I have been preaching to my new people, I proceed to tell you

what amongst our many satisfactions is a principal grievance to us strangers, to the female part of my English family especially, viz., the language of the country. What is very remarkable, the Manks service and lessons are read or translated by the clergy from an English Common Prayer and Bible before them, there being none in the Manks tongue printed, excepting a few gospels of St. Matthew. Every parish has a petty school, at which children are universally taught to read English, and, excepting in the post or market towns, as universally speak Manks at home; whence it is that but few of the country people can read to any significant purpose either one or t'other. For of their own they have few or no books, and of those but few that can read 'em; and of the English, scarce any but the clergy and the better sort get masters enough of the language to understand 'em. So that from reading nothing but English, and understanding nothing but Manks, I can't say or think our country schools (which are supported chiefly by benefactors such as Lady Betty Hastings, &c.) are of the use and benefit to the lower people I could wish 'em. And whether, therefore, the encouraging the learning to read Manks or English is preferable remains at present a sort of question with me. It is, moreover, further to be remarked that the common people here are for the most part (I verily believe) better acquainted with the Scriptures than those in England, being very attentive to them when read or preached, and their memories more exercised than those of the great readers; and to which the custom of singing their old carols at Christmas and other times, consisting chiefly of Scripture history, does not a little contribute. There are some remains of superstition still amongst the common people of this isle, in relation to *fairies* and *fortune-tellers* and *pre-figured funerals*. Of the first, were I to speak slightly in the hearing of the lower people, they would some of 'em, I believe, think but slightly of their bishop; but with respect to the second, I have made bold to direct my clergy to use their endeavours to undeceive the deluded part of their flocks, especially the young candidates for confirmation. The last, viz., the fancy of seeing

funeral processions, being rather a foolish than a wicked imagination, I am in hopes will wear off as sense gets ground, as it does I conceive here in proportion as it has in England, where the notions of apparitions and witches 'tis certain abounded much more than of late years. There are some good sort of people still, I fear, who lay too much stress upon fictions and nonentities. In the multitude of dreams (I may add of visionary tales) are divers vanities; but, "Fear thou God," I think is the proper foundation to build religion on, for unto such is the gospel sent. Without an awful reverential regard to the invisible Author of all our powers and faculties, in vain shall we hope for success in preaching the new tidings and doctrines of the gospel. Till men are resolutely pre-disposed to do His plain will so far as they know it, they will hardly be brought to receive or be the better for the mysterious offers of redemption and salvation by Jesus Christ; to an immoral mind the soft and mild and tender terms of acceptance will appear foolish and unsatisfactory. To any but so serious a mind as yours, sir, this sort of letter-writing would seem to call for some apology; but to you I shall make none. Neither do I write thus with a view either to instruct or amuse you, because I know you stand not in need of either from me; but my pen, I know not how, insensibly slips into subjects most natural to my profession, like husbandmen that are always talking of crops and ploughing and manuring of land. But it is, I confess, high time to release you, unless I was more capable than I am of saying something worthy your time and attention. But before I shut up my paper I must desire you to present my respects to the Warden and the rest of the clergy by whose courtesy and civilities I was obliged during my short stay at Manchester, and particularly to Mr. Foxley,⁽¹⁾ jointly with Mr. Heywood's; and pray tell that worthy brother how kindly I took his bestowing so much of his company (short as it was) upon a travelling stranger, as to make me wish to be better acquainted with him. He appears to have a sensible head

⁽¹⁾ See vol. i. part ii. p. 515, *Note*.

and an honest heart; let those who know him better give him a juster character if they can. Mr. Heywood⁽¹⁾ is very sorry it was not his lot to be with me at Manchester, which he probably would have been had I not intended for Lincoln when I parted from him on the road.

The difficulty of correspondence with my friends in England is a mortification, (so far as human friendships are an allowable ingredient of human happiness,) I find it necessary to exercise my Christian prudence to make me submit to with due patience and contentment; for the want of constant packet boats renders conveyance very uncertain, as you will perceive by comparing the date of this with the time of its coming to your hands. Be it when it will, I promise myself that it will be a testimony of the fidelity of my word; and if you are speedy in your answer it will be generous; if long, 'twill be but just.

Having once in my life some years ago (I am sorry to remember it) wrote to you (on a subject indeed of no great importance) without the favour of any answer in return, is a sort of discouraging allay to the hopes of the pleasure of hearing from you now I am a foreigner. Be that as 'twill, I beg leave to subscribe, dear sir, your faithful and obedient servant,

MARK SODOR AND MAN.

P.S. Upon opening my boxes from London I found all Mr. Law's works neatly bound and packed, as a present from a good lady, who is his constant reader. His *Spirit of Prayer* is what I have chiefly been engaged with since my arrival here. His manner of treating his subject is very sublime, not to say sometimes mysterious (but this may be owing to the dullness of my apprehension), but upon the whole very interesting and edifying. I pray God give me a heart susceptible of his Christianity, so far as

⁽¹⁾ Probably Thomas Heywood, third son of Peter Heywood of Heywood Esq. He was born at Whitehouse in the parish of Kirk Michael in the Isle of Man, August 1698, afterwards Speaker of the House of Keys in that island, ob. 25th June 1759, buried at Kirk Braddan, leaving issue. — See Corser's *James's Iter Lancastrense*, p. 22, Notes and Pedigree of Heywood.

I shall understand or find it clearly deducible from the fountain Head.

I will only say I think I comprehend our Saviour's sermon and other occasional directions of our Lord's as being rather more suited to my unmetaphysical capacity.

Upon casting my eye on Mr. Law, pp. 14 and 15 of his *Spirit of Love*, I could not help asking myself how they would sound delivered from the pulpit *ad populum*.

I think his observations upon the pretended difficulty of knowing how or what to pray for are excellent. Doubtless if a man knows his wants he won't be greatly at a loss to express 'em, especially as the deep searcher of hearts regards more the ardency and sincerity than the elegant or apt words of our petitions. But here I am again got into my preaching vein; and if I do not I may fancy I hear you say (as 'tis high time), *Manum de tabula*.

Have you seen How's *Meditations*? If not, pray get 'em, and oblige me with your sentiments of 'em; or Fordyce's *Art of Preaching*? Excuse my impertinent freedom.⁽¹⁾

Bishop Hildesley to ———.

Bishop's Court, Nov. 29, 1755.

If the Manchester nursery-man (whose name I know not) will venture to trust the Bp. of Mañ (whose name he is probably no less a stranger to) for a certain portion of his vegetable family, he may transmit as under, at such time and season of the year as he shall judge most proper:—

12 Yews of about three feet high.

6 Laurustinas.

6 French or o^r good baking Pippins, for standards.

6 Apples of good hardy sort, for espalias.

(¹) Mr. Weedon Butler, in his voluminous Life of Hildesley, has produced no document which throws such light on the character of this excellent prelate as this letter to Byrom. He was worthy to succeed even Bishop Wilson; and the Bible translated into the Manx language under his sanction is a permanent monument to his memory. The Bishops of Man have generally been exemplary in proportion to the duration of their respective incumbencies.

12 Scarlet *double* Hollyhocks, (no other colour.)

18 Honeysuckles, of the hardiest kind.

24 Province or Cabbage Roses, (no other sorts.)

He will be pleased to pack 'em carefully in mats, and direct them for the Bp. of Mañ, to the care of Captain Kennish at Liverpool.

If he could procure intelligence when the vessels trading to this isle are likely to come off, there would be less hazard of their laying too long out of the ground. M. S. M.

For ———, nursery-man, at Manchester.

1756.

Rev. William Jones⁽¹⁾ to *John Byrom*.

Finedon, January the 20th, 1756.

Good Sir: I well remember, though you perhaps may have forgotten it, that when I had the honour of conversing with you among our friends at Oxford, you laid your injunctions upon me to communicate a passage I had occasion to speak of from an old English author, one Simpson, a very eminent master of music in the reign of King Charles the Second, who has illustrated the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity from the theory of music; and I do assure you, sir, it should have been faithfully transmitted to you long ago, but I have been under a mistake that you had procured the book itself, till Mr. Wetherell very lately undeceived me. So

⁽¹⁾ The Rev. William Jones M.A. descended from Colonel Jones, who married a sister of Oliver Cromwell, was born at Lowick in Northumberland in 1726, and died at Nayland in Suffolk, of which place he was the Perpetual Curate, in 1800. On leaving Oxford his first situation was that of Curate of Finedon in Northamptonshire, where he wrote "A Full Answer to Bishop Clayton's Essay on Spirit," published in 1753. His work on "The Catholic Doctrine of the Trinity" is now one of his most useful and popular productions, and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has long and wisely admitted it into their list of books. Music was a favourite relaxation with him, and his treatise on the "Art of Music" is a very profound dissertation. His works were collected in twelve volumes 8vo in 1801, and afford proofs of learning, piety and zeal, although he is classed by his biographer amongst the representatives of "neglected merit," and yet Secker, Horne and Porteus were his friends. His biography of Horne is one of the best known and most pleasing of his works.

I am bound to make good my promise; with which design I have taken the liberty of addressing myself to you in this letter, hoping to have your pardon for so great a delay, and that the matter I present you with, though much out of date, may be found worthy of your acceptance.

The author above mentioned, in a piece he entitles *The Division Viol*,⁽¹⁾ a work excellent in its kind, and written with much more judgment and learning than you would look for in a man of his profession, has a choice reflection to the following purpose, in part ii. § 13:—

“When I further consider that *three sounds* placed by the interval of a third one above another, do constitute *one entire harmony*, which governs and comprises all the sounds that by art or imagination can at once be joined together in musical concordance; this I cannot but think a significant emblem of that supreme and incomprehensible THREE IN ONE, governing, comprising, and disposing the whole machine of the world, with all its included parts, in a most perfect and stupendous harmony.” To which he has subjoined a scheme of diagram of musical notes to explain his meaning and show that the orderly progression of concords through the whole scale, from the bottom to the top, will afford no more than three notes to the completing of all harmony.

You will agree with me, sir, that if Mr. Simpson had been a musical author of these days, 'tis above ten to one whether he had favoured us with so pious an observation. The temper and education of the present age would have kept such things far enough out of his head; or, if a thought of this nature had occurred, common prudence would have led him to suppress it, lest the report of it might have tainted the credit of his whole work, however useful and excellent within its proper subject. And I am pretty sure I have read a treatise upon music, of a fresher date, wherein this notion is squinted

⁽¹⁾ “Chelys, the Division Viol, or the art of playing extempore upon a ground.” Lond. 1667, fol. By Christopher Simpson. Dr. Burney observes upon the same author’s “Compendium of Practical Musick,” Lond. 1667, 8vo — “As far as it goes this book has considerable merit for its clearness and simplicity.”

at as a thing preposterous and chimerical, from which it appears, as from too many other cases, that *tempora mutantur*; and we may expect that opinions must alter as the world degenerates. Indeed I cannot refrain a sigh when I look upon many of the books written before the latter end of the last century; when it was no crime for a man to let his readers know what religion he was of, though his subject did not seem to require it; whereas now, there are some writers who can say little or nothing about Christianity, though it be the subject they profess to treat of.

But as I purpose to add a word or two by way of comment upon the matter before us, let us leave the times and return to our music, with which I remember you was very much pleased; and no wonder, for every true believer must needs have a pleasure in discovering any quality or operation of nature that may serve to confirm his faith and help him to a better conception of anything spiritual, particularly of God, the head of the whole spiritual world, and the end of a Christian's hope.

As to this particular phenomenon, my love to music may possibly tempt me to carry it beyond its line and magnify too much the excellency and use of its application. But I declare I can never reflect upon this harmonic Trinity in Unity without thinking it to be the most profound mystery within the whole circle of natural philosophy, as that also whereunto it agrees is the greatest within the compass of sacred theology. That the matter of fact really is as Mr. Simpson has stated it will not be disputed by any man of common skill in the science of music; it is a thing well known, that if any three notes be taken upon an organ or harpsichord in the order of an *unison, third, and fifth*, as expressed in the figure, and struck all at once, the sounds, though perfectly distinct in themselves, are so blended and lost in one another, that with this pleasing variety of different intervals you have also the simplicity and unity of a single note; and so strict is the agreement, provided the instrument be well in tune, that an unexperienced ear cannot readily distinguish whether there be one sound only, or two others combined with it. What serves to increase the wonder not a little is this, that the same notes,

which are observed to agree thus in themselves, do include the sum and substance of all musical concord; for if anything be added to them, and the order of things be changed for the sake of variety in composition, it must be done either by excluding one or more of these to adopt fresh intervals into their place, or by the multiplying of three parts into several more, to increase the grandeur of the performance. In the former case you have a discord or jarring sound waiting for its resolution into a concord; in the latter you have one or all the concords above mentioned repeated in the octave. And this is equally true though the notes should be unison, *fourth*, and *sixth*, which are the only remaining chords within the seven musical tones, and are generated by an inversion of the *third* and *fifth*, as might be shown, were it necessary, by a scheme of written notes. So that there is either discord in the music (which in its way is very useful and agreeable), or else the whole harmony, though expressed by five hundred different instruments, is resolvable into the *unison*, *third* and *fifth*, and these again resolve themselves into *unity*. It is hardly possible for a man who takes any pleasure in searching out the works of God, to be acquainted with this and not set himself to discover the ground and reason of it. The nature of sound being unquestionably divine in its original, this surprising agreement of *three* sounds in *one*, with their effect upon the bodily organs, is as truly the work of God as the shape, colour and smell of a rose in the vegetable creation. And it is to be presumed that if God had disposed the economy of music after another fashion, its impression upon the sense of hearing might have been not less agreeable. Why he did not, but rather fixed upon the scheme we have considered, can, I think, be no way accounted for but that music under *this* form is more serviceable to the soul of man, and displays to a Christian the wisdom of its author, more than it would have done under any other. The wisdom of it first appears to us in the relation it bears to that grand economy of nature conducted by the *three* agents — fire, light, and air, spread through the whole system, supplying, governing, and preserving the harmony of all created things. These three, though as distinct as the three ruling intervals of sound, are yet all of one and the same

etherial substance, and it is the action of this threefold ether upon the cause which produces the threefold harmony of music, causing it to tally so exactly with that substance from whence it derives its more immediate original. And as fire, light, and air are an apposite emblem of the personality and unity of the Divine Being, and accordingly applied to this use in the Holy Scripture, so the theory of musical concord answers the same end; it leads the understanding through nature up to God. It first expresses to us the wonderful temper and operation of those natural agents which are the secondary causes of it, and carries us through them to the nature of the blessed Trinity in Unity, the rulers of the whole spiritual economy, the essence of life, the fountain of joy, from whose presence the soul, when brought to its glorified state, may feel a delight some way analogous to that transporting sensation which a chaste and well ordered piece of harmony raises in the body. We will rest then in this conclusion, that as there is a Trinity in the Godhead, the Divine Wisdom has given us a symbol of it in the three ruling elements of sound; and as the three Divine Persons are but *one God*, so the trinity in music has the nature and sound of a most perfect unity.

If these observations be founded on truth, how rational is the application of music to the worship of God, when even the instrument employed in his service, though it have *neither speech nor language*, does yet convey a sense to the ear of the understanding the same for substance as that hymn of the seraphim, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts*; its harmony being in effect no other than a *trisagion* to the praise of the Holy Trinity. So just and admirable is the conformity between the adoration and the Object to whom it is paid; when music of a grave and proper stile is mixed with our public or private devotions, we herein *render unto God the things that are God's*, and pay our *tribute* to Him in such coin as bears the *image and superscription* of His own Divine Nature. To bestow it elsewhere, as in the celebrating of any profane or idle subject, is to rob God of what most properly belongs to him, and to cast that, which in the very frame of it is most holy, before dogs.

But now, if there be such a correspondence between all harmony

and the doctrine of the Trinity, what has the Unitarian to do with divine music? If he acts consistently with himself, he ought to praise his Deity with a protracted *monotone* or single note, and instead of the organ and the choir, which at present are in possession of our cathedrals, he should make interest for the introducing of a monochord, or, in other words, a bladder and string, whose empty and barren sound is not more disagreeable to a musical ear than his doctrine ought to be to the spirit of every sincere and faithful Christian.

I might launch out to farther speculations upon this subject, but the present opportunity will not suffer it. Enough, I hope, has been said, both to explain and justify Mr. Simpson's observation. If it should furnish any matter for useful and pious meditation, my end is answered; for I know that a soul so disposed as yours is for every devout exercise, and so inquisitive after anything that may be turned to the glory of God, will reap from it all the advantage it may be capable of affording. All I ask in return for it is only this, that, when you think upon it, you will not forget with how much sincerity and truth I am, dear sir, your very affectionate brother in Christ, and most obedient humble servant, W. JONES.

George Lloyd to John Byrom.

Mrs. Gillet's, Devereux Court, near Temple Bar,
London, 8th June, 1756.

Dear Doctor: I inquired of Mr. Hawksby whether he would let you have the *Transactions* which have been given to the members of late. He said you might have had them if you had applied sooner, but that now you could only have the last book (I think it is the second part of the fourth volume), and the copy of the *Statutes*, by sending a receipt for them. He inquired very kindly after you, and I do not know but a letter to him may procure you the rest, if you have a mind of them. However, if you will send a receipt for the last, I will take care to bring it you down.

In a letter to Mr. Houghton, I asked him to inquire of you whether there was any one at Cambridge who had your commission

and was capable of teaching shorthand. Mr. Soames has a son at Cambridge designed for the law, desirous of learning. I am told that Dr. Taylor has taught it to some.

There is no news but what you will see in the papers. Accounts from abroad are not agreeable; but we are supposed to be safe at home without any militia, being so well guarded by Hessians and Hanoverians.

I met Dr. Vernon and Dr. Hooper the other day, who inquired after you, as do many more.

You see Mr. Bower's⁽¹⁾ affidavit; though very full it does not seem to satisfy. They say he has been so used to tell stories in joke that they do not know when he will speak truth. The story of his escape is supposed to be entirely fiction, as I have heard several noble lords and others say — Poor Jersey and Guernsey.

Service to all friends, from your friend and humble servant,
GEORGE LLOYD.

To Dr. Byrom, in Manchester.

Roger Comberbach to John Byrom.

Chester, 31st October, 1756.

My dear friend: Give me leave to call you by that title. It was Sir Fulke Greville's highest encomium that he was the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. No less a value do I set upon your friendship.

I am and have been long in a very declining state of health, and now my physicians, after having played all their tricks upon me, are sending me off to Bath as the last resort.

Whenever you hear of my being released (though I do not appre-

⁽¹⁾ Archibald Bower, the historian of the Popes, who was now in the thick of the controversy which ended in his total disgrace. Dr. Douglas, "the scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks," was upon him, and notwithstanding he made an affidavit denying the authenticity of letters, as to the genuineness of which there can be no reasonable doubt, he failed altogether to convince the public. See a list of the Tracts in this controversy, some of which are very curious, in Chalmers's "Biographical Dictionary," vol. vi. pp. 264-5. Davies, Garrick's biographer, informs us that at one time he had intended to make an example of this impostor and to bring his character on the stage.

hend immediate danger), please to inclose the treatise I sent you about the Christian Religion (of which there is no other copy) to my eldest son. Your recommendation of it to him by a short letter in your easy way would add to its value with him, if you think it worth recommending; otherwise burn it. I heartily wish all happiness to you and yours, and am with great truth, dear sir, your most obliged,

ROGER COMBERBACH.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester.

Rev. Peter Lancaster to John Byrom.⁽¹⁾

December 24, 1756.

Dear Doctor: Your answer to the query, Were the tongues which our Saviour (Mark xvi. 17) promised his disciples they should speak with, such languages as they then knew not? is, No.

This is doing things to the purpose — a bold Alexandrian stroke — and I am put upon the difficult task of showing that two and two make four.

You cannot but own that the word *γλωσσαι*, in several places of the Old Testament according to the translation of the Seventy, and in many places of the New Testament, signifies languages. And that

⁽¹⁾ Byrom's reply to this Letter (*Poems*, vol. i. p. 188, edit. 1814) is subjoined, as it furnishes a good specimen of his manner of treating these subjects:

I have with attention, dear Vicar, repass'd
Your obliging reply to the lines in my last;
Am sorry 'tis final, yet cannot but say
That your patience to hear me, has gone a great way,
And extinguish'd all right to require any more,
If I put you to prove *two and two to make four*,
Very difficult task! — as one cannot deny,
When there's nothing more plain to demonstrate it by.

But if *two and two, four*, I am thinking, has claim
To self evident truth, has this comment the same?
The new tongues, which are mention'd in promising page,
Are the old ones subsisting for many an age:
Is it really as plain, as that four is twice two,
That in no other sense they could ever be new,
But as new to the speaker, — John, Peter, or Paul, —
While the tongues in themselves had no *newness* at all?

it does so in the place above cited may be fully proved from the very chapter, in which what was done on the day of Pentecost is related.

In x. 11, the signification of *ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις* is evidently, in our languages, the same as is otherwise expressed in x. 6 by *τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλεκτῷ*, and in x. 8, by *τῇ διαλεκτῷ ἡμῶν*.

This being so, I assert that when in x. 4 it is said that the apostles and disciples, upon their being filled with the Spirit, spake

Were this a true thesis, and right to maintain,
Yet "two halves are one whole" is, however more plain,
Till the proof which is wanted shall make it appear
How the two propositions are equally clear.

*This proof may be had from the Chapter, you say,
Which relates what was done on the Pentecost day, —
The best of all proofs; — but, to do the fair thing,
Give me leave to examine what reasons you bring.*

*That γλώσσαι is LANGUAGES oft, if you seek
In the Septuagint, or the New Testament Greek,
Acknowledge you must. — Yes, 'tis really the case —
Ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις in this very place
Must mean IN OUR LANGUAGES; — sense, you must own,
Is the same as in τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν,
In our languages, or in our dialect. Yes,
Two and two making four is not plainer than this.*

But how it flows hence that in cited St. Mark
It has no other meaning, I'm quite in the dark.
Few words of a language are always confin'd
To a meaning precisely of just the same kind:
For the roots of the Hebrew in Hutchinson's school
I remember they had such a kind of a rule,
But the reach of its proof has been out of my pow'r,
Tho' I've talked with their master full many an hour.

I believe that by grace, which the Spirit instill'd,
"They shall speak with new tongues" was exactly fulfill'd
In our Saviour's Disciples; that, grace being got,
They did so speak in tongues as before they could not
With respect to good strangers partaking of grace;
For "speak with NEW TONGUES" with NEW LANGUAGES place,
And the promise fulfill'd we may very well call,
By one Spirit-form'd tongue which instructed them all.

ετεραις γλωσσαις, as the Spirit gave them utterance, they spake such languages as they before had not; and that hereby was exactly fulfilled what our Lord had promised — that they should, upon their receiving the Holy Ghost, speak γλωσσαις καιναις, in languages new to them.

Let me here observe, that the words λαλουντων αυτων, in the above, x. 11, are not, as you would have them, put absolutely, but are governed of ακουεν, as λαλουντων αυτων in x. 6 are of

If the bold Alexandrian stroke of a "No"
Had been "Yes" in my last (and it would have been so
If the facts had requir'd it) what could it have shewn,
Tho' the text had this meaning, if not this alone?
For how do "all languages spoken in one"
Disagree with the promise insisted upon?
I allow it fulfill'd; let the Vicar allow
The fulfilling itself to determine the *how*.

God's wonderful works when disciples display'd,
And spake by the Spirit's omnipotent aid,
Ev'ry one understood in a language his own,
Loquentibus illis, λαλούντων αὐτῶν
"While they spake" at the first; for, good Greek and good sense
Forbid us to form an unwritten pretence
For dividing of tongues, when the Spirit's descent
Gave at once both to speak and to know what was meant.

But thus to interpret, it seems, you forbid,
By placing the stop as old Gregory did,
Who thought as you think; tho' you bring, I agree,
At least a more plausible reason than he,
From a passage that suits with your meaning alone,
Acts the tenth, "for they heard" ἤκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν
Λαλούντων "them speaking," and γλώσσαις "in tongues,"
Where indeed to that Greek that construction belongs:

By transposing two words the grammatical lot
Shews when they are absolute, when they are not;
But be it "them speaking," as you would collect,
"In our languages," still it will never affect
The force of those reasons from which 'tis inferr'd
That at once they were spoken, at once they were heard;
Nor of those which deny that TONGUES, *quatenus* new,
Mean always precisely what LANGUAGES do.

ηκουον, and as *αυτων λαλουντων γλωσσαις* are of the same verb in Acts x. 46.

The speakers of these languages were the disciples. Say their hearers, ch. ii. 7, "Behold, are not all these (*οι λαλοῦντες*) who speak, Galileans? And how, x. 11, do we all hear (*λαλουντων αυτων*) them speaking (*ταις ημετεραις γλωσσαις*) in our languages the wonderful works of God?"

By this it appears as plain as any words can express, that the disciples themselves, by the influence of the Spirit, spoke the several languages of the hearers.

This is the fact, and with it we ought to rest satisfied, if we could not at this distance of time account for every circumstance.

In such cases any probable hypothesis ought to be admitted till a better appear; and I am not much concerned whether the disciples went out to the multitude or whether the multitude went in to them, nor in what order the multitude were addressed, not doubting but that whoever has leisure and will seriously and industriously use his endeavours, may in every respect find satisfaction.

I advance to what is of much greater importance. You think it ill consistent with the effusion of grace, that the disciples, upon their

That evidence, Vicar, which here you have brought,
Cross-examin'd, will certainly favour this thought;
For Cornelius converted, and company too,
Without intervention of languages new,
How can any one think, but from prejudice bred,
Tho' honest, from what he has often heard said,
That then they were all on a sudden inspir'd
To speak with strange tongues, when no reason requir'd?

But now being got to the end of a tether
Prescrib'd to your trouble, I leave to you whether
Tongues any where else, in the sense you assert,
Were spoken to purpose, that is, to convert?
Or whether your patience can bear to excuse
A reply to your hints on the sense that I choose?
In the mean time I thank you for favours in hand;
And, speaking or silent, am yours to command,

J. B.

being baptized with the Spirit, should speak the language of other persons, when none of those persons were by.

But surely the disciples themselves were to be first convinced of their actually having the gift of speaking and understanding foreign languages before they gave a demonstration of their being so inspired to unbelievers.

And when they had once done this (as they soon did), then St. Peter, in the common language of the Jews, addressed all the multitude, acquainting them that what had happened had been foretold by the prophet Joel; and thereupon preached unto them Jesus, and with such success, that in the same day three thousand persons were converted to the Christian faith.

Had the fact been as (in favour of Behmen) you contend, that the apostles and disciples spoke all languages in one, it, to my apprehension, would have been so far from promoting, that it would in the highest degree have hindered the propagation of the Gospel.

For (omitting many things that might be said), if such a force were put upon the sense of hearing as to make persons hear another speaking a language which he did not speak, why might not a like kind of force be laid upon the other senses also? And, in such deception (which it would be impious to think the Holy Spirit used) where could truth and certainty be had?

I have now done with the subject, and shall only add, that (notwithstanding our so widely different sentiments about it) I am, with pleasure, and shall always be, your very sincere friend and admirer,

P. LANCASTER.⁽¹⁾

(1) The Rev. Peter Lancaster of Christ Church, Oxon, M.A. 1724, afterwards Vicar of Bowdon in Cheshire, and author of a "Perpetual Commentary on the Revelations of St. John; modelled, abridged and rendered plain to the meanest capacity, from Daubuz's Comment on the Revelations." 8vo, 1730. Dr. Byrom addressed "Four (poetical) Epistles to the Rev. Mr. L, late Vicar of Bowdon, upon the Miracle at the Feast of Pentecost," the first of which is dated "Baguley, August 12, 1756;" and this Letter is Mr. Lancaster's reply to Byrom's view of the miracle, which he states he found in "a *Jacob*, too greatly despis'd," and, like other views of Behmen, "extorted assent, that he could not retract." Byrom thinks, and brings the most plausible reasons that the erroneous doctrine admits, for maintaining that the extraordinary

1757.

*Verses on the attack upon Admiral Byng
in the "Monitor."*

Wednesday, March 16th, 1757.

What Monitor's⁽¹⁾ here! what a British Freeholder!
Of judgment and death what a merciless moulder!
Whether Admiral Byng⁽²⁾ has been guilty, or not,
Has deserv'd to be spar'd or deserv'd to be shot,
No British freeholder, who holds himself free,
Is oblig'd to determine before he can see,
And pursue him with keen British foxhunter's hurry,
Who, when he gives law, is determin'd to worry.

effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, in the gift of tongues, did not consist in the communication to the apostles of a miraculous power to utter different languages; but in bestowing on Parthians, Medes, Elamites and others a capacity for understanding that one tongue used on the solemn occasion, which was accompanied with such an anointing of the Holy One. The first intimation which he had of this view was from the writings of Jacob Behmen. Mr. L. appears to have written to Byrom a previous letter on this subject, which is quoted in Notes to the Poetical Epistles.

(1) The "Monitor," a periodical journal, was published 9th August 1755, No. 1.— See Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* vol iv. p. 96. It does not appear that these verses by Byrom have been published before. After writing them he would soon learn the news of the unfortunate Admiral's execution, which had in fact taken place on the 14th, so that the printing of the verses would not serve the end proposed. They do honour to his humanity, and present a pleasing contrast to the party writings of another poet, (David Mallet,) the dirty tool of the ministry of the day, who employed his venal pen to turn the popular indignation upon Admiral Byng — which commission he executed too successfully. For this assistance (Johnson informs us) Mallet had a considerable pension bestowed upon him, which he retained to his death.

(2) On the 14th March 1757, on board His Majesty's ship *Monarque* in Portsmouth harbour, was shot, in conformity with his iniquitous sentence, the bravest and best officer in the navy, on the calumnious and false charge of want of personal courage. He was "the victim," as he declared on the morning of his execution, "destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects." His strong conviction that justice would be done to his reputation by posterity has long been realized.

To soften law's rigours by equity's plan,
Humanity often admonishes man;
Too apt to forget his own shortness of breath,
And to hasten, for others, the sentence of death;
Very seldom oppos'd, when the crime is so plain
That the known to be guilty deserve to be slain;
But, when it is doubtful, all freedom and sense
Will, before execution, choose proper suspense.

If the name of a paper can make a man wiser,
Of British Freeholder, or Night Advertiser,
Byng must be dispatch'd; and it does mighty well
For the mob to be pleas'd, and the paper to sell;
But if justice, and wisdom, and value for laws,
Whose sounds are so urg'd, in so killing a cause,
Are to have their true meaning, the Monitor's haste
In the British freeholders will raise a distaste.

What sense in his motto? though, choosing of that,
To be sure Overshooter would seek the most pat.
" 'Tis a sample of wisdom that guarded the King
And secur'd his good subjects" — apply it to Byng;
"Our laws," says the motto, "shall suffer no change;"
Now, if Byng must be shot, sure the logic is strange;
For nothing condemn'd him, his judges all saw,
But a change that had lately been made in the law.

Though oblig'd to interpret the article thus
By summum (or summa injuria) jus,
Their notion of justice (which ought to be, still,
The intent of the law, though its letter should kill)
Which conscience inspir'd, in so hard an affair,
Occasion'd from them an unanimous pray'r
That a mercy so just, in his case, might be shown,
And themselves be reliev'd by the voice of the throne.

Will the treating of conscience and of the Court-martial,
In the Monitor's strain, as if all had been partial,
Forbid one to see, in this Admiral's case,
A reason sufficient for respiting grace?
How oft does an object, whom judges report,
Who yet have condemn'd him, find mercy at court?
"A commendable attribute this, to be sure"——
Why then, when a Court so desires, it abjure?

If not to be shown to so strong a request,
When must it prevail in monarchical breast?
A King, it should seem, has express'd a desire,
On the fairest occasion, for time to enquire;
And a Monitor comes, with his duty turn'd sour,
To talk, to freeholders, of absolute pow'r;
That mercy may yield to the voice of the crowd,
Not because it is right but because it is loud.

And what proof has he brought for the merciless side?
Why, the people condemn'd him before he was tried!
Their resentment was just at the very first brunt,
But the Court, if it durst have acquitted——had done't;
For private acquaintance, the Monitor knows,
They proceeded to hazard the public repose,
And the union of King and of subjects, so good;
Whose cement, as it seems, was the Admiral's blood.

Now had it been true that this laudable nation
Was never misled by misrepresentation,
It were something; or else, why should Admirals die
To secure the repose of a popular cry?
The one single fact for which mercy's denier
Can quote this harangue of a popular cryer,
Who measures the wisdom of nation and throne
By cruel conceits which he has of his own.

Whether sailors condemn'd an unfortunate brother
Because, as he hints it, they durst do no other ;
Whether urging of conscience was wrong, or was right,
Though, according to him, it had reason to smite ;
Whether twenty surmises, that readers may meet,
When a man must amuse them and fill up his sheet,
Have a ground or no ground whereupon to believe ;
What chance for the knowing, without a reprieve ?

Should mercy rekindle so gentle a spark,
Will the man run away, thinks he, from the Monarque ?
Or will justice be hurt, if a proper delay
Should banish all doubt that he had not fair play ?
“ But a merciful turn will be thought somewhat worse
In the ages to come.”—What a notion to nurse !
Of human condemners all history's pages
Secure, to the slow, the applause of all ages.

So much for the Monitor, sent yesterday,—
And reflections upon it that fell in one's way :
As a servant came for it this morning, perhaps
It has pass'd through the hands of more politic chaps ;
Who change not their laws, but will hear the man teach
How to snatch at a sentence — but just within reach !
Though the freehold belongs, of so legal a snatch,
To none but the race of ——— Johannes de Catch !

William Law to John Byrom.

March 26th, 1757.

My dear Laureate, whom I love and esteem with all the truth of Christian friendship. Nothing but such goodness as I know possesses your heart could overlook so much neglect as I have shown to one of my most valuable friends, who all this time of disrespectful silence has had every affection of esteem that I can possibly have to those with whom I am in the truest Christian

love united. If you ask how all this has come to pass, one who knows neither you nor me can tell you as much as I can. You must place it amongst those wonders of infatuation which have only been hurtful to myself.

In a few days you will receive a little piece of mine, just coming out of the press. I call it a "Short Confutation of Dr. Warburton's *projected Defence of Christianity*,⁽¹⁾ in his Divine Legation of Moses, in a Letter to the Bishop of London."

Dear doctor, forgive, and renew your usual correspondence with one who sincerely believes he cannot esteem you enough. You have the hearty good wishes of this whole house to you and all yours. From your awakened friend and most obliged servant,

WM. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

William Law to John Byrom.

April 30, 1757.

My dear Doctor: the favour of yours was very welcome to me, and I hope we shall neither of us for the future be forgetful of doing one another all the good that we can by an epistolary correspondence, as occasion shall offer.

In my Letter to the Bishop, page 80, line 2nd, *Atheism*, by the mistake of the printer, is instead of *Adhesion*.

I declined all thoughts of remarking upon Mr. Wesley's *Letter*⁽²⁾ myself, and discouraged others that would have done it for me, having no desire to help the world to see him and his spirit in a worse light than was done by his own pen; nevertheless, if not too inconvenient to you, I should be glad to see your strictures upon him, because I know they must have some Byromisms in them, which are curiosities (though I have not a bit of a virtuoso in me) that I am very fond of.

⁽¹⁾ Published by Richardson, March, 1757, sixpence.

⁽²⁾ "A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Law, occasioned by some of his late writings, by John Wesley, A.M." London, 1756, 8vo., one shilling.

I cannot consent to your considering yourself as a domestic invalid; it is an opinion highly detrimental to Church and State. Recipe caballum, visit your friends as you used to do, &c.

Every happiness has for the most part some inconvenience that is apt to arise from it. It is your happiness to be nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus, the inconvenience arising from that is that you become by degrees the prisoner of your own chamber, and your body does nothing for you but the office of a jailor. My dear friend, adieu. W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale bag.

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

July 14th, 1757.

My dear Doctor: It is now so long ago since our correspondence has ceased that it may be necessary to remind you that I first had the pleasure of knowing you by the means of our common friend, poor Mr. Freke. It will be difficult, indeed, to suppose that you have forgot him; and I am even willing to believe that, upon a very little recollection, you may again recover the remembrance of one whom you used to honour now and then with an epistle, by your courier Mr. Walford. The greatest pleasure I reap at this time, in my writing to you, is to give you my sentiments of approbation upon our worthy friend's⁽¹⁾ Confutation of Dr. Warburton's *Divine Legation*. I remember formerly your fingers itched to be at him, and he received a very handsome rub in the *Epistle to a Gentleman in the Temple*; but my dear doctor, you who understand the argument so well, must needs be in the highest rapture at our worthy friend's performance, who I hear has received the thanks of the Bishop of London⁽²⁾ by a letter under his hand. Had I not been acquainted with our good friend's ability, I should have trembled at his title-page — "A short but sufficient Confutation," &c.

⁽¹⁾ Law.

⁽²⁾ Dr. Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of Salisbury, succeeded Gibson in the see of London in 1748, and died in 1761.

But he has so sufficiently made good his assertion that I am quite delivered from all my fears. Dear doctor, let me know the reason why these wretches will neither maintain what they assert, nor confess their error when they are detected.

I have a great loss in my poor old friend Freke; he used to visit me once or twice a week. Quod volumus facile credimus continued with him to the last; however, if it always failed, it pleased in the present moment. Where hope leaves us despair succeeds; and as our joints are all broke to pieces, that is now the miserable case of, my dear doctor, your most affectionate humble servant,

JOHN LINDSAY.

P.S. Mrs. Williams, your old landlady, desired me to give her compliments to you, and to let you know that Mr. Grimston⁽¹⁾ of Kilnwick upon the Wolds, in Yorkshire, has five guineas to pay you or order. A letter directed for me at Mr. Wilcox's, Islington, will come safe.

To Dr. Byrom.

[Shorthand copy.]

John Byrom to John Lindsay.

My dear counsellor: I shall never forget our common friend Mr. Freke's introducing me into that agreeable community; I had long known him at Dick's Coffeehouse for a customer to it without ever conversing with him, and when he first spoke to me about Mr. Law's *Appeal*, I took it for granted that he came to rally me as a man of wit upon that article, and resolved to give him scope enough by an unrestrained commendation of it, that I might see for once what wit could say against truth, but was very agreeably disappointed when his approbation of it was expressed so as to overcome the preconception that I had formed in my

(¹) John, only surviving son of Thomas Grimston of Grimston Garth in Holderness and of Kilnwick, both in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Esq., was born in 1724; succeeded his father in 1751; married in 1753 Jane, daughter of Sir Thomas Legard of Ganton, Bart.; and died in 1780. His grandson and representative is Colonel Charles Grimston of Grimston Garth and Kilnwick. For an account of this ancient family see Poulson's *Hist. of Holderness*, vol. ii. p. 60, 4to.

ignorance of his design in asking my opinion. When I could believe him, I asked if he knew any one man beside that could enter into his and my sentiments? Yes, one there was, and I should see him some night or other, and having raised my expectations for some while to any height, he brought them at last to an ever-memorable satisfaction; he and you and Mr. Richardson were the latest, but not the last of such acquaintances as I could wish to meet with. It is to you all, and to you one in particular that Dr. W.[arburton] owes the rub that you take notice of, and that I owe two rubs from him in two epistles that he honoured me with from Bath upon that occasion; upon the Enthusiasm epistle which I guess is the rubbing one that you mean, for the bishop, perhaps, if anybody, was the rubbee you know in the other, who has had such ample amends made to him by our worthy friend's *Confutation*, &c. There have been an hundred of them sold⁽¹⁾ from this trading town, where the people are far from over-bookish; but most of them, I suppose, have been sent for into the country.

I do not persuade myself that you are delivered from many fears that "Short but sufficient" gave you, for, measuring your apprehensions by my own bushel, I fancy they were but few. A man who builds on so solid a foundation as this author does, soon demolishes the castles that are built in air, of which this *Confutation* is an instance very remarkable,⁽²⁾ the chief objection to which, that I have heard of, is that it has done more than was sufficient, and gone to other matters not so clear as they allow the *Confutation* of the doctor to have been.

Yes I have heard besides what was related to me as spoken in earnest, but I looked on it as a jest that might be true he is so very learned a man that there is no confuting of him. You ask me to let you know "why these wretches will

(1) A large number of this pamphlet appears to have been sold in Manchester. It would seem to indicate that Law had many disciples in the neighbourhood.

(2) Warburton treated this "Confutation" with infinite contempt, but not with more than it deserved. Byrom's devotion to Law made him a very partial judge, when Law's writings or opinions were in question.

neither maintain what they assert, nor confess their error when they are detected"? Now the last of these two things is so very seldom done by any writers that you will not wonder at the like forbearance; the other I should rather think that time may produce in some shape or other. How do you know that *Confutation* will not be confuted? May not some Letter to your friend come out, though late, as unexpected as that of Mr. Wesley to him, who no doubt supposes him to be detected, and yet neither answers nor confesses. This old acquaintance of mine was here not long ago, and came to pay me a visit along with one of his preaching followers, to whom I had blamed that performance much when it came out at first. I have seen him once before here in about twenty years, but he was much freer this time and staid much longer, and we talked our matters over; but to my urging him to repent of that wicked Letter, I could get nothing from him but that — if he lived to publish another edition he would soften some expressions in it, — which I did not accept of. Mr. Law, I apprehend, does not choose himself to take notice of it, or that anybody else should.

A Fellow of our Church has just lent me a piece upon the Trinity, by the Rev. William Jones, which has its merit, but, to one's surprise, has introduced our friend into his preface, page 20: "Enthusiasts, to make a wrong use of it (grace), such as our Quakers, Methodists, and particularly [the Rev.] Mr. W——L——, who, after writing so excellently upon the vanity of the world and the follies of human life (on which subjects he has no superior), has left us nothing to depend upon but *imagination*, and reduced the whole evidence of Christianity to fancied impulses and inspiration, so as to render the Sacraments⁽¹⁾ useless and the appointed means of grace contemptible." I know not what to say to such things, my dearly beloved counsellor, whose presence I much wish for on the like occasions; "Facit indignatio versum" is my frequent relief, but not having you or any one like you to confer with, that

(¹) Not the *Sacraments* but the *Scriptures* — in Jones's "Catholic Doctrine of a Trinity," p. xiii. *To the reader*, 8vo, eighth edition, 1809.

relief is soon over. This unjustifiable, unexpected reflection by an author of this kind may be of worse effect than an ill writ book against our friend; does he go on with a new edition of J. Behmen? Do you ever see Mr. Richardson? if you do, I beg my salutations to him, and sincerest wishes for his welfare. Please to remember me to my good landlady (I wish that health &c. would permit me to call her so again); they are all well, I hope. Will an order to any one in London be sufficient for my old friend Grimston's five guineas? Are not joints breaking to pieces all Europe over?

John Lindsay to John Byrom.

September the 8th, 1757.

My dear, dear Doctor: I return you my thanks for yours of the 1st of August, though I did not receive it till the 23rd of the same month, for which delay I cannot account. Had you not intimated your want of health, your letter would have been a perfect cordial to me. We must not expect complete happiness in this world; however, I hope your next will bring me a better account of the state of your health, for which I heartily pray.

I find the chief objection to our worthy friend's performance is that he has done more than was sufficient, and gone to other matters not so clear as they allow the *Confutation* of the doctor to have been. In my weak judgment, I think these other matters are the perfection of his work. He had reason to believe that some of the highest rank wanted a little instruction; and, if so, could there have been a more modest method of introducing it than by answering some of the doctor's gross errors? What a ridiculous definition does he give of the Divine image and likeness; the manner in which God breathed into a lump of clay, &c. &c. Upon these points and others our worthy friend has enlarged, and set them in such a light as few, if any, ever before him did — all which consummate knowledge is founded in his having so deeply entered into Jacob Behmen. If Jacob was a wonderful man, he is a wonderful expounder of him! Wesley is

contemptible. As for the Rev. Mr. Jones, he may have some merit, but he has much lessened it in the opinion of all good judges by his censure on Mr. Law, who has received a letter of thanks from the bishop for his *Confutation*, &c.

I agree with you that this injudicious, unexpected reflection of Mr. Jones may be of worse effect than an ill writ book against him. If one may take the liberty to judge whence all this opposition to this good man arises, you will find it in Jacob Behmen's *Seventeenth Answer to the Forty Questions of the Soul*. He there, amongst other things, says: "If you would serve God, you must do it in the new man; the will must be in it, else it is but a feigned babble." This is what Mr. Law has strictly insisted on through all his works, and this is the grand offence. He will not allow to outward ordinances more than what belongs to them: every man, he says, has a priest and an altar within him. Fine work indeed; this strikes at our freehold — a very interesting affair!

There is one Dr. Robinson,⁽¹⁾ a physician, who has taken the same liberty with Mr. Law; I cannot say for the same reason, because he is of a different profession. He has lately published a treatise, called *The Christian Philosopher*. In his Apology he has the following paragraph: "To show that nature, according to the absolute sense of the word, is an extrinsical term, we may observe that Moses does not once mention the word through all his cosmogony in his first chapter of Genesis; and what is more, it is not to be found through all the sacred pages of the Old Testament. And if nature had been judged so active a principle in the creation and process of the six days' work, is it not surprising that neither Moses, the Kings of Israel, nor any of the Prophets, should once take notice of it, or make any allusions to that term, though un-

(¹) Nicholas Robinson M.D. Physician to Christ's Hospital, London, and the author of a variety of professional works long forgotten. His "Christian Philosopher; or a Divine Essay on the Principles of Man's Universal Redemption," appeared in 1741, book i. 8vo. "Appendix to the First Book of the Christian Philosopher," London, 1742, 8vo. Both reprinted 1758, 2 vols. 8vo.

doubtedly it was in use, as I conceive, at the time of Moses, and before. How unreasonable therefore is it that Jacob Behmen, the Rev. Mr. Law, and the rest of their followers should all aver, without the least colour from either Scripture, reason, or philosophy, that temporal nature sprung out of eternal nature, thereby making two eternal, independent and first principles equally unchangeable and immortal!" I have told him, for I sometimes meet him at Abington's, that he does not understand Mr. Law. He says he is very sure he does; and I am very sure it would be impossible to convince him of the contrary, and have therefore left him to enjoy his whimsies. The plan of his work is to prove that the philosophy of Moses is right; and that of the moderns wrong, whereby they endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Scripture by asserting that the earth moves and not the sun; whereas he asserts that the sun moves and not the earth — that the magnetic virtue diffused through our earth will not only be able to set a going and continue in motion the whole planetary system, but also of influencing the various suns and different planetary bodies that compose the whole universe. I do not apprehend at all that Moses entered into the philosophy of nature. Joshua indeed said, "Sun, stand still!" and this seems to be his chief reason for proving the sun's motion, to reconcile it with what Joshua said; but as miracles are applied to our senses, and as this miracle was wrought to convince the Israelites of the power of God, the only method of doing this was to show them by a supernatural power that the sun continued above the horizon so much longer than the usual time, whether by the sun's standing still or the earth's standing still was immaterial as to them.

My removal from Fleet-street has thrown me quite out of the road of my old acquaintance. I have not seen Mr. Richardson of a long time; when I do, I will be sure to let him know how kindly you have him in remembrance. I herewith send you the direction which was left by Mr. Grimston, intended, no doubt, that he might receive your order how to convey the five guineas to you. I think the most proper method will be to write to him, and direct him to

pay it to Williams at Abington's, whose receipt shall be his discharge. When you have advice of the payment of it, you may then order it as you think fit. Your landlady gives her compliments to you. If there is any hope, it is in the general disorder of joints, for it is an old maxim that confusion sometimes brings forth order.

According to the dignity of my office, I counsel you to take care of your health, as well for your own sake as that of your friends, of which number no one is more sincerely so than, my dear, dear doctor, your most affectionate humble servant, JOHN LINDSAY.

P.S. My compliments to your courier.

[Shorthand copy.]

John Byrom to Bishop Hildesley.

Manchester, October 8th, 1757.

To the Bishop of Sodor and Man:

"Parvæ loquuntur, magnæ stupent"—is said of concerns which mortals have upon their minds. I have known the influence of this saying upon many occasions, and particularly upon that of returning answers to such letters as have laid me under greater obligations than I could so easily discharge as little ones. It is not the first time that such as you have laid upon me has struck the too great eagerness of acknowledgment dumb; it must depend upon your own inclination to believe me, though I can say it with great truth, that the pleasure which your letter from the island gave me was the reason why it was not answered in any reasonable time. Mr. Locksam, a young gentleman of this place, having called to let me know that he was going to the Isle of Man, has tempted me to forget my former failings, and to oppose by episcopal authority, or on *Bis dat qui cito*, with my Better late than never.

It is just of late that our last mentioned book of How's *Meditations*,⁽¹⁾ which I was quite a stranger to, was lent me for a day or

⁽¹⁾ Charles Howe was the third son of John Grabham Howe of Langar in Notts, by his wife Annabella, third natural daughter and coheiress of Emanuel, Earl of Sunder-

two before it was returned to its owner in Cheshire. I liked it very well, and many just and pretty thoughts were in it. I perceive by a blotted paper that I had put some of the thoughts into rhymes, as my custom is now and then when I steal a little prose for my own memory, or that of an acquaintance or two who can retain a meditation better in that shape, such as these for instance. Such leading meditations as these were sufficient to secure my prejudices in favour of the text, which I read with greater pleasure on a supposition that they were not disagreeable to your taste; and I must think the people so far happy to whom you have been preaching upon the righteousness of a heart devoted to its true proprietor, as the rule and end of all external devotion whatsoever.

You add (and ask me what I think), *hic labor, hoc opus est*. If you mean that this is the difficulty, I must own it to be one that is insurmountable to all human forces. It must be some power Divine, some operation of the Deity, that must accomplish this labour and this work in us while we are passive, submissive, resigned, obedient, or whatever the phrase be; or, as you express it to the full, when every part and portion of our wills is sacrificed to the Divine will.

In this free and voluntary resignation seems to centre all that pious writers of all denominations have said about religion and religious exercises, which are sometimes summed up into the one thing only necessary, viz. the giving up the will to God, who, having then the free disposal of it, will most undoubtedly direct it in the most perfect manner.

As you have all Mr. Law's works [complete] from a good lady, and as there is a new piece of his come out lately, I cannot forbear sending it upon this occasion lest probably the lady should not as yet have bound one in the same livery with the rest.

land, Lord Scrope of Bolton. He was born in 1661, and ob. 1745. His "Devout Meditations; or, a Collection of Thoughts upon Religious and Philosophical Subjects," 8vo, was first published anonymously; but the second edition, at the instance of Dr. Young and others, came out in 1752, with the author's name. See Butler's *Life of Hildesley*, p. 353. — Chalmers.

I wish that more of the sacred order than one can meet with would deal as fairly by him as you do, acknowledge what is interesting and edifying, and suspend upon what is not clearly understood. If by "Not to say sometimes mysterious," anything that is not agreeable to the fountain head, to the sacraments, to the sermon upon the mount, or to the true fountain head—to him who made it—I wish you would show it one; for I like Mr. Law for his plainness and intelligibility in matters of casuistry, which are not commonly so clearly explained. You mention the fourteenth and fifteenth parts of his *Spirit of Love* as what would not do *ad populum*. I am looking at those pages in both the parts of the *Spirit of Love*, as neither was named; in the first he shows that nature unbeautified by the God of love is and must be a state of torment and disquiet, which appears to be very true and comprehensible; in the second part those pages show that wrath, which is not love, cannot be in God, &c. Now all the harm of his pursuing this article is that others have not considered a certain point so duly as Mr. Law has done, but have left the Deists an objection against Christianity which I question whether any writer in all Leland's collection has answered to any purpose but Mr. Law, of whom Leland takes, so far as I have seen, so very little notice.

Mr. John Wesley has, since you left us, wrote a letter to Mr. Law upon his two pieces on *Prayer* and *Love*, turning chiefly upon his denial of the world's being made out of nothing, and of God's being wrathful; but the thing is condemned by all the unprejudiced that I have heard speak of it. He was in this town not long ago and called upon me, and I spoke my mind to him upon that unjust [attack] upon Mr. Law, but could not get any more from him but that if he lived to print a second edition he would soften some expressions, which I could not accept of, insisting upon the "Multæ non possunt, una litura potest."

The difficulty of correspondence with your friends in England is to be sure a mortification, among whom if I be yet (worthy I cannot say) admitted to be named, I must confess I have contributed [to it] beyond anything—but the hopes of pardon; which,

if you will grant, I have learnt from the bearer that he goes to Man himself twice a year, I think, or can convey a packet occasionally, and am desirous to make any amends for past neglect that you shall please to require.

I have not met with Fordyce's *Art of Preaching*.⁽¹⁾ My notion of preaching, as an art, is the art of planting, watering, or doing anything towards the true life which lies hidden in the soul of man as an eternal seed of holiness and glory capable of growing by the influence of God, his Son, and his Spirit, into an heavenly creature. The mystery, or the truth and reality of a life derived from Christ into us as really as a life from Adam has been derived into us, seems to be the redemption from the fall of our first parent which we obtain by a new life from the second. But I forget that after so long a silence I now write in haste, this youth being to go to-morrow morning, by whom if I shall hear of your welfare according to my wishes, I shall write again the first opportunity.

Mr. Foxley is very well. Mr. Brooke, one of the Fellows of our Church, is dead, succeeded by one Mr. Crouchley, a neighbouring clergyman. I wonder how your diocese is affected by these wars and rumours of wars.

All our family, who have all a great regard for you, desire to salute you and yours.

Is not the Manx language akin to the Welsh [or] Irish? Dear Bishop, I ask pardon and your blessing, and am sincerely yours,
J. BYROM.

Bishop Hildesley to Mr. Foxley.

28th October, 1757.

Will Mr. Foxley give me leave to intimate thus much through

⁽¹⁾ David Fordyce M.A. Professor of Philosophy in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, (brother of Dr. James Fordyce and of Sir William Fordyce M.D. F.R.S.) was born in 1711, and died in 1751. After his death was published his "Theodorus, a Dialogue concerning the Art of Preaching," London, 1752, 12mo, 3s., which has been repeatedly printed along with his brother Dr. James Fordyce's Sermon on the Eloquence of the Pulpit. He was a layman.

his hands, viz., that so soon as I can get the better of the vanity occasioned by Dr. Byrom's high compliment made me in the preface to his long looked-for favour, (where he is pleased to express himself as if the pleasure of my letter he received near two years since had stunned him into silence, of which he did not recover till 8th inst., October 1757,) I may possibly hazard the giving him another dumb fit.

In the mean time, notwithstanding his intention of making me some amends for his delay by the reason he has assigned for it, I hope to be able to convince myself that his hyperbole will admit of a literal construction, viz., that in truth my poor epistle did not deserve an earlier notice.

However, I desire, for the present, he will accept my kind respects and thanks, and that you will excuse the freedom here taken by, Sir, yours with fraternal affection as due, from

M. SODOR AND MANN.

William Law to John Byrom.

November 18th, [1757].

Dear Doctor: I have received twelve copies from London, fifty are sent to the bookseller at Manchester, with orders to deliver as many of them to you as you please to have. It is very well printed, but there is such a blunder in the placing the advertisement of the editor as is very surprising. I fixed it on the back side of the title-page, to be seen by [the] reader before he began, and tell him whose were the following verses. But behold, they have printed the same advertisement of The following, &c., but have placed it at the end, where nothing is to follow. I have wrote this day to Mr. Innis about it.—Yours with much affection,

W. LAW.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester in Lancashire.

By Rochdale.

1758.

Samuel Pegge⁽¹⁾ to *John Byrom*.

Whittington, May 27, 1758.

Sir: If you can be content to receive a little humble prose from a friend, I would willingly discuss that passage in Homer — *Il. A.*, οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώχετο, καὶ κύνας ἀργούς.⁽²⁾ *Mulos quidem principio invasit, et canes veloces.* For after I left you, and since my return home, I could not help reflecting upon the observations you was pleased to make upon this verse, and I here send you the result of my enquiries.

First, then: οὐρήας may here signify guards, φύλακας, as Aristotle understood it, and as it is used *Il. K.*, 84, 'Hέ τιν' οὐρήων διζήμενος, ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων. But then I cannot so easily admit that, by κύνας, the lower sort of people, or slaves, are intended, and not dogs. This assertion I propose to examine. The passages alleged in its favour are —

——— ἄμα τῶγε δύο κύνες ἀργοὶ ἔποντο.

Odyss. B. 11.

Necnon et gemini custodes limine ab alto

Præcedunt gressumque canes comitantur herilem.

Æn. viii. 461.

(¹) Samuel Pegge LL.D., F.S.A., was the son of a woollen draper at Chesterfield in Derbyshire, where he was born in 1704. He was chosen a Platt Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1729. In 1751 he was presented to the Rectory of Whittington, near Chesterfield, by Dr. George, the Dean of Winchester, where he resided for more than 44 years, and in less than a fortnight after his induction to that benefice the Duke of Devonshire gave him the Rectory of Brindle, near Chorley, in Lancashire. He resigned Brindle in 1758 for the living of Heath (alias Lown) in the Duke's gift, and only seven miles from Whittington. He had various other preferments, and it is recorded that his studious and sedentary habits did not injure his health, which might have been inferred from his dying in 1796, in his 92nd year. He contributed more than fifty articles to the *Archæologia*, and published a variety of strictly professional and other works. — See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi. p. 224, et seq.

(²) "On Mules and Dogs th' infection first began,
And last the vengeful arrows fixed on Man."

Pope's *Homer*, Book i. *ll.* 69, 70.

καὶ ὁ κύων τοῦ πηδαρίου μετ' αὐτῶν.

Tobit, v. 16, xi. 4.

οἷα περ ἃ δέσποινα, τοιάδ' ἃ κύων.

Schotti *Adag.* p. 616, lin. 725.

But in all these several authors, we are to understand the words *canes* and κύων literally of the canine and not of the human race; for the appellation of dogs is never given to men but when some mark of the grossest ignominy is intended; so Gnatho says to Chremes, Ain' verò, canis, siccine agis? *Eunuch.* iv. sc. 8. See Rev. xxii. 15; Ps. xxii. 16; 2 King viii. 13. We express it in English by *vile dogs*, or *sad dogs*.

'Tis supposed by some that in the *Æneid* *canes* are synonymous with *custodes*, and consequently must signify guards, that is men, there; but what if *custodes* should be synonymous with *canes*, and *canes* is to be taken literally? That is more probable of the two, since this word *custos* is used of a dog, *Æn.* vi. 424,

Occupat *Æneas* aditum custode sepulto,

speaking of Cerberus. But the truth is, that in this passage of the viii. *Æneid*, *custodes* and *canes* are by no means synonymous either way, but are spoken of two different things, for that is the force of *et* and *que*, which necessarily imply two various kinds of attendants; and the place is to be rendered by the English word *both*, for the sense is: "Both a brace of guards preceded Evander, and the mastiffs accompanied him;" by which you see the *custodes* and *canes* are employed in two different offices, the guards *precede*, and the dogs *attend* or *accompany* their master, adhering to his side. Mr. Dryden, therefore, does not give us the whole sense of this place when he comprehends the two lines of the original in one, and makes *canes* to be synonymous with *custodes*, thus:

Two menial dogs before their master press'd.

This then being the clear sense of this place in the *Æneid*, it is the key whereby we are to interpret that passage of the *Odyssey*⁽¹⁾ above cited, which the Roman poet probably had in view. It con-

(¹) 2. *Odys.* verse 11.

firms also the literal sense of the word *κύων* in the book of Tobit. And as to the proverb, though we have a saying to the same purport, *Trim tram, like master like man*, yet the Greek proverb will have a commodious sense, if you understand it literally, *As is the mistress so is her dog*; that is, if one be lazy and idle such will be the other.

Now, as to the custom of great men being attended by their dogs, I will not cite you the modern practice of Justus Lipsius,⁽¹⁾ who was always attended by a faithful companion of this species to the professor's chair, as is related in his Life, but that of Syphax, quoted by Servius in *Æn.* viii.,⁽²⁾ "*Syphax inter duas canes stans Scipionem appellavit.*" This I think a very clear case, for *duas canes* cannot denote maids, it being very incongruous and even absurd for Syphax to be accompanied by two maids; wherefore we must necessarily understand two bitches in this place, bitches being generally more fierce than dogs. And this, methinks, affords a mighty confirmation that we are to understand all the places above in Homer, Virgil, and Tobit literally.

I observe, lastly, that *ἀργός* is not only the proper epithet of a dog, but when it is joined with *κύων* it either signifies swift or white, neither of which are so peculiar to man, especially not the latter, and yet I take the latter to be its true import. See the Scholiast upon this passage of Homer, and the following etymology which Steph. Byz. gives of the word *κυνόσαργες*. *Διόμος γὰρ Ἡρακλῆι ὡς θεῷ θύων . . . καὶ κύων λευκὸς ἀρπάσας τὰ μῆρια, εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἤνεγκε.*

But is it not somewhat strange to see guards and dogs put together in this passage of Homer? I answer, Not at all. They are the proper attendants of heroes and great men, and are conjoined

(1) "*Amavit a puero canum omne genus et Lovanii gradu quodam magnitudinis discretos Saphyrum Catellum gente Batavum, Mopsulum Catulum domo Antwerpia et Mopsum canem gente Scotum.*" Lipsii Op. vol. i. p. 18, edit. Lugd. 1612.

(2) La Cerda's interesting note on Virgil's *Æneid*, lib. 8, l. 462, collects very fully the quotations in reference to this custom. — See La Cerda's edition of Virgil, Lugd. 1617, folio, vol. ii. p. 226.

by the Latin poet above; and therefore, whereas Dr. Clarke writes “ἴσως οὐ τοὺς Ἡμιόνους λέγει, ἀλλὰ τοὺς φύλακας — Aristot. de Poet. c 25, malé; cum κύνας ἀργοὺς statim deinceps addit Poeta;” rejecting the interpretation of Aristotle, because the poet so immediately adds, κύνας ἀργοὺς; he ought for that very reason to have admitted it, since, as we have shown, guards and dogs consist so well together.

But are not the distempers of animals so different as not to be communicable from one species to another; or, in other words, that what may prove a plague or pestilence to one may not be so to the other? We have been taught, I am sensible, to look for all sorts of knowledge and learning in Homer, but this is nothing but blind admiration; and yet, perhaps, this may not be strictly the case here, since a murrain amongst cattle has often been known, as they say, to precede a pestilence. And, moreover, if the cause of a pestilence be in the air, or resides in any noxious exhalations issuing, by the power and action of the sun, from the body of the earth, dogs may as well, and sooner, be affected by it than men. See Mr. Pope’s Note on this place, the Scholiast in Barnes, and Dr. Mead’s Treatise on Poisons, where he speaks of the Grotta del Cane. The dogs, I apprehend, would be first seized in this case, and then the guards, as most exposed to the air by standing at the doors or entrances of the tents. And thus I conclude, upon the whole, that κύνας ἀργοὺς, in Homer, is to be understood literally. Yours, SAML. PEGGE.

P.S. In Lycophron,⁽¹⁾ as I remember, for I have not the author by me, κύων is used by Hercules, and perhaps is the only instance where it is used in a good sense when applied to a man; pray consult that passage, and see if it be so. You see I am very honest. I desire you would give my respects to Mr. Thyer, and tell him I would be obliged to him if he would transcribe Butler’s Character of a Tailor,⁽²⁾ and send it me in a post letter; there’s a

⁽¹⁾ He probably refers to Lycoph. verse 440, where the term κύνες is applied to the priests of Apollo, Mopsus and Mantus.

⁽²⁾ It is gratifying to find that the solemn Pegge could see wit in any thing. Byrom

deal of comic wit in it. As soon as I am at leisure I will examine that passage in St. Matthew about the "*Ἀκριδὲς*, and likewise take your last verses about Pope Gregory into consideration.

For Dr. Byrom at Manchester
in Lancashire.

One single sheet.

T. White⁽¹⁾ to *J. Byrom*.

Foundling Hospital, Sept. 23rd, 1758.

Dear Sir: Not only in discharge of my promise, but in expectation of tempting you to write to me, I give you the trouble of this, to acquaint you that after passing through Yorkshire and reconnoitering our hospital works there, which I found in a very flourishing state, I went to Walling Wells, where I found all your friends and acquaintance well except my mother, who feels so much the decay of time. Your poem was my companion, and I can't be charged as your debtor for the shilling it cost, because I have approved of it as beyond all price, and I should be much obliged to you if you would let me know at what place in London the genuine edition is sold, for I would beware of all counterfeits. I got here well and found all my acquaintance so, but Daniel Wray,⁽²⁾ who says he is married. I hope he is in no dangerous condition, and that time may bring him to himself. I condole with you on our public loss, but hope it will teach every body to pray for peace in our times. I am teaching our young people to sing psalms; pray, if you have any paraphrases or translations of

he never seems to have comprehended as a joker. The character of a "Tailor" by Butler does not seem to have been included by Thyer in his edition of Butler's Remains.

⁽¹⁾ For a notice of Taylor White Esq. see vol. ii. part i. p. 24.

⁽²⁾ Daniel Wray F.R.S. and F.S.A. was son of Sir Daniel Wray Knt., a soap-boiler and sheriff of London. He married late in life the sister of Robert Darell Esq., sub-governor of the South Sea House, but continued a member of Queen's College, Cambridge until his death in 1784, in his 82nd year. He was one of the writers of the "Athenian Letters," printed for private circulation by the second Earl of Hardwicke, and was many years deputy teller of the Exchequer under that learned nobleman. Mrs. Wray, his widow, gave his valuable library to the Charter House, where he had been educated.

psalms, or any little short hymns proper to be set to music and sung by young people, let me have them. I beg my kind regards may be acceptable to yourself and our friend Dr. Lloyd, and am, dear sir, your affectionate humble servant,

T. WHITE.

To Dr. Byrom.

William Law to John Byrom.

November 3, 1758.

My dear Doctor: It is now drawing on to near two years since I answered your last to me; from that time I have not seen your name till you had this honest man's queries to send me. He judged right in conveying them through your hands, or I should very likely have thought it needless to take any notice of them. I take him to be as you say, an honest, well-meaning Christian; but wonder that a man conversant in the Scriptures and other spiritual writings should put such queries, or want to have anything said about them. I pray you to seal and send the enclosed to him as soon as can be with convenience.

All the friends that you saw at Cliffe are growing old in good health, and would be glad to see you again before they are much older. We all, all join in love, respect and good wishes to you and yours. Your most affectionate,

W. LAW.

1759.

Samuel Pegge to John Byrom.⁽¹⁾

Whittington, Feb. 19, 1759.

Dear Sir: You seem to be desirous, in the favour last received from you, that I should go higher than the date of the Order of

(¹) See *Archæologia*, Vol. v. No. 1., p. i., for Dr. Pegge's "Observations on the History of St. George, the Patron Saint of England; wherein Dr. Pettingall's allegorical interpretation of the equestrian figure on the George, and the late Mr. Byrom's conjecture that St. George is mistaken for Pope Gregory, are briefly confuted; and the martyr of Cappadocia, as patron of England, and of the Order of the Garter, is defended against both." It has been generally understood that Byrom's "Conjecture" was merely one of his facetious lucubrations to which he attached no importance, although treated as a grave historical dissertation by Dr. Pegge and others.

the Garter in investigating the patron of this kingdom,⁽¹⁾ and I am willing to do so, even to recede as far back as our books can carry us.

My first position is that there is no necessity for the patron of a nation to be the person that first converted it to Christianity, this not being the case in many instances.

(¹) It is only fair to Byrom to give the argument by which he maintains his curious hypothesis of Pope Gregory the Great being the Patron of England :

I know what our songs and our stories advance,
That St. George is for England, St. Denys for France ;
But the French, though uncertain what Denys it was,
All own he converted and taught 'em their mass ;
And most other nations, I fancy, remount
To some saint whom they choose upon such an account :
But I never could learn that for any like notion
The English made choice of a knight Cappadocian.

Their conversion, — a turn worth rememb'ring, I'd hope —
To Gregory was owing, a saint and a Pope,
Who was known by the title of First and the Great :
He sent to relieve them from pagan deceit
St. Austin the monk ; and both *sender* and *sent*
Had their days in old Fasti, which mark'd th' event.
Now, my Lord, I would ask of the learn'd and laborious,
"Has not Geor-gi-us been a mistake for Gregorius?"

In names so like letter'd it would be no wonder
If hasty transcribers had made such a blunder ;
And mistake in the names by a slip of their pen
May, perhaps, have occasion'd mistake in the men.
That this has been made, to omit all the rest,
Let a champion of yours, your own Selden, attest ;
See "On Titles of Honour" his book, in that quarter
Where he treats of St. George and the Knights of the Garter.

There he quotes from Froissart how at first, on the plan
Of a lady's blue garter, blue Order began,
In one thousand three hundred and forty and four ;
But the name of the saint in Froissart is Gregore :
"So the chronicle-writer or printed or wrote
For George, without doubt," says the marginal note.
Be it there a mistake ; but, my Lord, I'm afraid
That the same, *vice versa*, was anciently made.

Our writers will often call St. Austin, archbishop of Canterbury, *the apostle of the English*; others except against that mode of speaking: but I, for my part, have no objection to it, though I am a Protestant, since he was really the first that preached to the Anglo-Saxons. Now, methinks, he has a much better claim, if we are to look out for a proto-evangelist, than Pope Gregory that sent him; and pray observe how matters went at Canterbury in relation to those two prelates. St. Austin had a sumptuous

For though much has been said by the great antiquarian
Of an orthodox George, Cappadocian and Arian,
“How the soldier first came to be Patron of old
I have not,” says he, “light enough to behold.”
He thinks, since of proofs he is sorely in want,
A soldier-like nation would choose him for Saint;
For in all his old writings no fragment occur’d
That saluted him Patron till Edward the Third.

That reign he had guess’d to be the first time,
But for old Saxon prose and for old English rhyme,
Which mention a George, a great martyr and saint,
Though they say not a word of the thing that we want;
They tell of his tortures, his death, and his prayer,
Without the least hint of the question’d affair.
Not being the Patron — with submission to Selden,
I conjecture, that light he was never beheld in.

The name in French, Latin, and Saxon, ’tis hinted
Some three or four times is miswrit or misprinted;
He renders it George; — but allowing the hint,
And the justice of change both in writing and print,
Some George by like error, which adds to the doubt,
Has turn’d our converter, St. Gregory, out:
He, or Austin the monk, bids the fairest by far
To be Patron of England till Garter and Star.

In the old Saxon custom of crowning our kings,
As Selden has told us, amongst other things
They nam’d in the pray’rs which his pages transplant,
The Virgin, St. Peter, and one other saint
Whose connection with England is also express’d,
And yields in this case such a probable test
That, a Patron suppos’d, we may fairly agree
Such a saint is the person, whoever he be.

abbey erected there very soon, which presently took his name, but little notice was taken of St. Gregory there till after the Norman conquest, when Archbishop Lanfranc was pleased to found the priory of his name. It should seem then that St. Austin has a far better title to the patronage of England than St. Gregory.

But, thirdly, the patron of this kingdom is little heard of, if at all, before the Norman conquest — neither St. George, nor St. Gregory, nor St. Austin. Now, sir, if the patron was first adopted by the Normans, let us consider how the case would be with them; they had nothing to do either with St. Gregory or St. Austin, and consequently would never think of either of them. But after they had been upon a military expedition to the Holy Land, it was very natural for them to bring back with them a military saint

Now with Mary and Peter, when monarchs were crown'd,
There is only a Sanctus Gregorius found;
And his title Anglorum Apostolus too,
With which a St. George can have nothing to do.
While Scotland, France, Ireland, and Spain put in claims
To St. Andrew, St. Denys, St. Patrick, St. James,
Both Apostle and Patron, — an Apostle, her own,
Why should England reject for a saint so unknown?

This, my Lord, is the matter; the plain, simple rhymes
Lay no fault, you perceive, upon Protestant times.
I impute the mistake, if it should be one, solely
To the pontiffs succeeding who christen'd wars holy;
To monarchs who, madd'ning around their round tables,
Preferr'd to conversion their fighting and fables;
When soldiers were many, good Christians but few,
St. George was advanc'd to St. Gregory's due.

One may be mistaken, I therefore would beg
That a Willis, a Stukeley, an Ames, or a Pegge,
In short, that your Lordship and all the famed set
Who are under your auspices happily met,
In perfect good humour, which you can inspire
As I know by experience, would please to enquire,
To search this one question, and settle, I hope,
"Was old England's old Patron a Knight or a Pope?"

Poems, vol. i. pp. 66-8, edit. 1814.

from thence, as is plain they did, from the institution of the Order, the erecting the chapel at Windsor, and the veneration they paid to the relics of St. George.

'Tis granted, you see, that the patron of this nation, whoever he was, was not known till after the Norman era: you can find nothing about St. Gregory, and I can find nothing about St. George—I mean in that capacity. But is it not strange we should hear nothing of St. Gregory, if he were the patron, till that time? Certainly. But then, on the contrary, as to St. George, it cannot in reason be expected we should know much of him till then. This now is a demonstration, with me at least, that St. George being the present saint (for you must allow that he is in possession), and we never hearing of any other, he must have been *always* the patron from the remotest times that ever we had one. What would you require? St. George became our saint from the very first opportunity we ever had of publicly knowing him, and has continued so ever since; and in fact, neither you nor anybody else ever heard of any other.

'Tis insisted that we had no patron till after the return of our warriors from the Holy Land. But whom should they bring from thence? not Pope Gregory surely, but St. George, under whose banner they had fought there, as they believed. A casual variation and interchanging in a bad printed book or two, of names so similar as Georgius and Gregorius, can never be thought sufficient to stand against reason and probability, and, as I may add, matter of fact; for it is a real fact that our people, after they had been at Jerusalem, took St. George for their patron. (Heylin's *Hist. of St. George*, part iii. c. i. § 7.) I beg my kind respects to Mr. Thyer, and am, sir, your truly affectionate and most obedient servant,

SAMUEL PEGGE.

P.S. I observe some of our great antiquaries espouse the story of Guy E.[arl] of Warwick and his combat with Colbrand.⁽¹⁾ I shall dispute that fact in a future magazine, for I do not believe a

⁽¹⁾ Dr. Pegge contributed in 1783 a memoir on the story of Guy Earl of Warwick to the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, No. xvii.

syllable of it. I am strongly tempted to take a journey to London this spring in order to visit our old friend Dr. Taylor,⁽¹⁾ but I doubt I shall not be able to accomplish it.

For Dr. John Byrom, at Manchester.

1760.

[In shorthand.]

Phebe Byrom to John Byrom.

Kersall, 29th Feb., 1760.

Dear Brother: We wish you joy at this quiet place of yours upon your birthday, drinking your health, as we cannot come to you, and I was very glad to be a bit from the hurry of the market-place; and though the French received you kindly, we are glad if they will keep from us. We have great reason to trust Providence with all events, but the fears of war make me see my weakness.

Our man says that there was no coals to be had at the coal-pit, and he was coming away without, and the banksman said to the men that get them, It's for them that gave you the Workman's Song;⁽²⁾ upon which they said, Then they shall have some; and so they went down into the pit, and got to fill him his cart. So one sees that good words are most prevailing. I am your loving and obliged sister,

PHEBE.

F. Vernon⁽³⁾ to ———

London, March 21, 1760.

Madam: When I had the pleasure of seeing you at Buxton I recommended it to you to collect as many of the Doctor's poetical compositions as you could, and to prevail with him to review them. He has so much of the true poetic spirit that it is pity any composition of his should be lost. I am very anxious to know what progress you have made. I am sensible he did not always

⁽¹⁾ The Editor of Lysias. See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. vi.

⁽²⁾ See *Poems*, vol. i. p. 22, edit. 1814.

⁽³⁾ The Rev. F. Vernon D.D., Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, died 22nd March, 1761.

keep copies of what he wrote; but as you may probably know to whom they were addressed, they may be retrieved. Sacred things have of late been his favourite subjects. What you showed me on the Passion and Birth of our Saviour are truly grand performances. I here send you one upon the next festival, the *Epiphany*, which I could wish the Doctor to improve upon. Tell him his old friend Dr. Hooper has recovered his hearing by a fit of the gout. I send him this account both as it will give him pleasure and afford your physical friends at Manchester a subject for their curious speculations. I met lately Mr. Livesey our Buxton friend, who informed me of the health of my Manchester acquaintance. I beg my compliments to them all. If I could have hopes to meet them it would be a strong inducement to revisit Buxton next season. I believe I could prevail with Dr. Hooper to be of the party, would Dr. Byrom give himself the trouble to meet his old and sincere friends Francis Hooper,

FD. VERNON.

ON THE EPIPHANY.

To see The Christ the Magi came from far,
To Him conducted by His new form'd star;
Offerings of gold and fragrant gums they bring,
By this a God confessed — by that a King.
O may the lights which in His Gospel shine
From error lead us into truths divine,
And show the danger in the ways we trod;
From sin and Satan turn us unto God.
Let all His empire own — proclaim His sway,
Attend His preaching and His laws obey,
And by good works a constant tribute pay;
A gift which heaven with joy far greater fills
Than all the cattle on ten thousand hills.

F. V—N.

William Law to John Byrom.

March 25, 1760.

My dear Doctor: It was with much pleasure that I received yours of the 13th instant. The long letter you mention with certain particulars, after receiving my letter to the Bishop of London, never came to hand, nor did I so much as know that you had received that book of mine. The only letter I received from you since that time is that which brought the letter of Sylvanus Hibbert.

I have had a letter from him again, so absurd that I suppose it may be the same which you have rejected. The other person you mention was, about two years ago, received very kindly here, being recommended from three quarters which were of weight with us. I shall say no more of him but that he has been discarded here, never to be confided again under a spiritual character, nor admitted to any correspondence of that kind — nor indeed in the quality of a pauper, more than enough having been done for him already under that capacity. I am exceedingly sorry that my most beloved of friends, and best of poets, is a prisoner in such a jail as the Habeas Corpus cannot take him out of. But I hope it is all a joke, and that you say this only to make us laugh when we shall see you and your jailer become fellow travellers.

I should be very glad to hear often from you, to know what takes up your time and thoughts, and to see as much of it as you can allow me. A correspondence of this kind would be more welcome to me than all the choicest honours that either Church or State could confer upon me.

Two of my friends in London have collected some of my private letters, and have got leave from me to print them. They are now in the press, and a copy or two of them will be sent for your acceptance as soon as they come out.

Mrs. Hutcheson and Mrs. Gib[bon] are often saying they hope the good Doctor is well, though we hear not of him. They both join with me in every sentiment of esteem and good wishes to yourself and family. The best that I can say is, God be with you.

W. LAW.

P.S. The charge of imprisonment I take to be wrong laid; your body is the prisoner, and you are its jailer. It is because your mind has all your care, and you are always travelling with it as high and as far as you please, that your body goes nowhere, and has only the liberty of travelling such journeys as your two-armed chair takes.

To Dr. Byrom, at Manchester, in Lancashire.

By Rochdale bag.

F. Vernon to Miss Byrom.

Buxton, October —.

Dear Miss: I have inclosed the verses of your father's, of which, from his uncommon readiness in writing, I can easily believe he has no copies. I greatly commend your intention of collecting as many of his pieces as you can, and that the Dr. will review them; it is pity they should be lost. I am in hopes he will oblige the world with the publication of them himself, and not leave it to some pilfering bookseller to mangle them without mercy. The Doctor has done too great honour to my sermon to make it the occasion of so elegant a paraphrase as he has bestowed upon it. As he is a singular humane man, I am not a little pleased what I said found his approbation. His well-timed admonition against swearing I thank you for.⁽¹⁾ In return I send you a translation I made since you left us of two lines of Juvenal against gaming before young children — too much practised here. I shall to-morrow set out for London. I desire my compliments to all my worthy Manchester friends, and to your father in particular, and that you will believe me to be your very humble servant,

FD. VERNON.

Lord Willes is returned to Buxton.

Si damnosa senem juvet alea, ludit et hæres
Bullatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.

⁽¹⁾ This Epigram, "addressed to an officer in the army," is published in Byrom's *Poems*, vol. i. p. 241, edit. 1814.

If dice the father loves, the tender squire
Soon shakes the box and imitates his sire.

To Miss Eliza Byrom, at Dr. Byrom's,
in Manchester.

William Purnell⁽¹⁾ to John Byrom.

Millgate, 9 o'clock [December 1760.]

Dear friend: I thank you for all former favours, and particularly for an epilogue and an epistle which I lately received and do suppose came from you. In the epistle you represent me as encouraging lewdness and vice, and acting contrary to virtue and religion, in permitting my lads to act a play; either of which things if I thought to be true, I would immediately stop the acting of the play. My notions of the stage are different from yours. I think it may be made use of for good ends and purposes, and to promote virtue and religion as well as the pulpit. There are some vices more fit for the stage than the pulpit. I have lately received some sermons from a friend a Doctor in Divinity, and some plays published by another friend a Doctor in Divinity, and there is more sense, more learning, and more religion in the plays than in the sermons. If I thought the play would taint the minds of any of my youths, I would never have engaged in it. I am sure the youths are much benefited by the play, and I have used all possible care to prevent any of the ill consequences you are apprehensive of. As to virtue and religion, I have as great a regard for them as yourself; but as to reputation, I am entirely indifferent about it. You may publish the epilogue when you please. I own that plays may and often are abused, but cannot see that an evening spent at a good play is less improving than an evening spent at a tavern, which is always the case at these annual meetings. I know nothing of the characters and manners of the actors, and have nothing more to do with them than to satisfy them for the use of their room. I am pretty well versed in the arguments on both sides of

(¹) See *Note* 1, p. 502, ante.

the question, and can produce many more than you have mentioned; but if you can produce any new ones, I should be glad to receive and consider them at leisure. I desire you not to send your sentiments in a disguised manner. I will take everything from you in good part. I wish you all blessings temporal and spiritual, and am your sincere friend and humble servant,

To Dr. Byrom.

WILL. PURNELL.

P. Brown to John Byrom.

Manchester, December 29th, 1760.

Dear sir: I am far from thinking myself equal to the task you have imposed upon me, or that I can give you anything satisfactory upon a subject that has been already handled by so many learned men; and with which you are much better acquainted than I am; but as you condescend, contrary to the general rule of the world, to seek for information from the ignorant, and from a master to become a disciple, I cannot refuse to comply with your request, and to submit my sentiments to so good a judge, whose correction, if I am wrong, will be very agreeable, and who has too much regard for truth not to subscribe if I am in the right.

You ask me to send you one or two of the strongest reasons upon which the general opinion of the apostles' writing the New Testament in Greek is founded. Now the strongest proof of the authenticity or rather the originality of the Greek text of the New Testament is, in my humble opinion, drawn from its constant and universal reception as such by the whole Church, from whose venerable hands we have received these very Scriptures, and by whose authority alone we are assured that they are the word of God. Now the whole Church has unanimously received the Greek text of the gospel of St. Mark, St. Luke, St. John, the Acts of the holy Apostles, and the Epistles, as the originals in which they were written; but out of this number I except the gospel according to St. Matthew and the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, not because I do not believe them to have been written in Greek, but because

they are contested by some, and therefore must be considered apart. It certainly, worthy sir, becomes those who are advocates for the non-originality of the present Greek text to produce us the originals in which they were wrote, or at least to ascertain when, and by whom, the present Greek translation (as they call it) was made. Till this is done they ought to acquiesce in the tradition of the Church, which will be a much better guide to them than the opinions of individuals, or the critical niceties of grammarians, which have oftener obscured than enlightened the sacred text. That the primitive Church received the Greek text as the original is evident not only from their quoting it as such, but also from those who used a translation referring the disputants to the originals preserved in those Churches to which they were written. For which see Tertullian's book of prescriptions, section 36. Now in whatever sense you take the words *ipsæ authenticæ literæ*, either as authentic copies signed by some apostle, or as the very originals which they wrote to the several Churches, which is most likely the meaning of Tertullian, it seems evident that they were written in Greek, and that whenever the versions or copies were disputed their custom was to refer to the Greek from whence the versions, &c., were made. To this perhaps it is replied that the frequent Hebraisms that occur through the whole New Testament, and their septuagintal style, is a direct proof of the contrary; but to me this argument seems to have very little weight, because we may naturally suppose that those who were employed in the translation would be known if they were employed by authority, but this is not the case; and that they would be conversant in the Hebrew, which would subject them to the same inconveniences of style as the apostles, and this renders the argument for their being employed of little weight; or lastly, that they would have a competent knowledge of the Greek tongue, from which, as they did not write by inspiration, we might naturally expect the rules of human eloquence to have been more strictly observed than they are; so that from everything we may, considering the tradition of the Church is on our side, fairly conclude that as the apostles could

speaking Greek they might write it also, and their writing seems to be uniform with their preaching, not in man's wisdom or eloquence, but in the wisdom of God, which is folly to the children of this world. Moreover if the Hebraisms that occur in the New Testament be a proof of the present Greek being a translation from the Hebrew, the Arabisms, Persisms and Syriacisms that the learned observe in it are an equal proof of its being translated from those languages also, which I dare say few will assert; and it would be as just to conclude that the old Italic version was made from the Syriac, because frequent Syriacisms and Hebraisms are observed in it; but the most probable opinion is that it was translated from the Greek by a Jew, who could not avoid introducing the idioms of his own language into a version that had no further connexion with it than coming through his hands. The apostles, therefore, being Hebrews, versed in the sacred originals, and no doubt often reading and quoting the Septuagint, must naturally both in conversation and writing, whatever language they wrote or spoke in, introduce the peculiarities of their mother tongue, which is no more than what we observe in the writers of all nations to this day; so that from this circumstance alone I doubt not but you readily allow that the Hebraisms of the New Testament are no proof of its being wrote in Hebrew, but only a mark of its being wrote by Hebrews; and if to all this we add that it is very probable that more Jews understood Greek than Hebrew, we have a sufficient reason for the apostles writing rather in Greek than Hebrew, as being more intelligible to the Jews, and better suited to the heathen converts whenever God should call them. This is a subject that would deserve your consideration, and which your leisure and abilities might easily clear up.

I now come to consider the gospel according to St. Matthew, which by many of the ancient fathers was believed to have been wrote in Hebrew, or, according to St. Jerome, in Syriac or Chaldee; but this [is] by no means a universal tradition, but the private sentiment of some fathers, founded on the mistake of Papias, who though a diligent was yet a credulous man, and of consequence

easily imposed on. For first, let me ask, if St. Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, where is the original? What the Church now uses she hath always used as the original, hath quoted it as such, and made it the joint standard of the Christian verity. The advocates for the opinion I am now combating say it existed in the time of St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenæus, and Eusebius, but this I think is by no means proved, for the fragments which are preserved in these and several other authors are manifestly different from the present Greek; in some places it contains more than the Greek, and these additions are such as could answer no end in making; in other places it is considerably less, which diminution seems to have been done with a bad view; and in some places the narration is very different; all which are evident proofs that the Greek is no translation from it, and if not from it, it must be the original, because it has always existed in its present form. St. Jerome is said to have translated the Hebrew original into Greek, but this I deny. He translated indeed a copy of a gospel called by the Nazareens the gospel of St. Matthew, which he says was wrote in Syriac or Chaldee, but in Hebrew characters. Now if this was the same as the Greek copy then extant, why did he translate it? Was it because the then Greek copy was a bad translation? This he nowhere intimates. Or was it because he thought the Greek copy a mere human composition, and that the Hebrew was the only original? If so, why did he not refer to the Hebrew original in all disputes? and why did he not translate his Latin version from the Hebrew, and not from the present Greek? This I imagine will be to you a convincing proof that this illustrious and learned father paid very little regard to his Nazarean exemplar. I allow indeed that there was an account of the life of Jesus Christ that went abroad under the name of St. Matthew's gospel, but by no means the work of that holy evangelist; in all probability one of those many narrations mentioned by St. Luke in the beginning of his gospel, of no authority, the composition of an uninspired person, consisting chiefly of what some disciples had heard from St. Matthew's preaching, but mixed with many other

fabulous relations, which plainly indicates its origin, and which, together with its being only used by heretics, is a sufficient proof that it could not be authentic, or used in the Church.

As to the epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, I have never yet seen one solid argument in proof of its being wrote in Hebrew. To say that it was wrote in Hebrew because it was wrote to Hebrews, is saying nothing at all, because I believe as many Jews understood other languages as did Hebrew; and as to the opinion of the ancients, it is so various that it is evident they knew nothing at all about it, or at least nothing certain; so that all that they say concerning it seems mere private opinion, which is seldom of any authority in the Church. For some say it was wrote in Hebrew and translated into Greek; others think the style too grand for St. Paul, or even for a translation, and therefore that St. Paul told his sentiments to St. Luke or St. Clement, who dressed them up in the present language; but this seems mere imagination, for since ever it was known it has been used and quoted according to the present Greek text; those who did not receive it never objected to its not being an original, or asserted it to have been the composition of a person who only compiled it of hearsay stories. And as to its peculiar loftiness of style, it is nothing uncommon. If in human compositions it is a rule to raise our language in proportion to the dignity of the subject, why should it be thought strange that an inspired apostle, full of natural warmth, animated with an ardent love for his countrymen, deeply versed in the sacred mysteries of the law, and instructed by the greatest of all masters in the truths of the gospel, why should it be thought strange, I say, that he should express himself with more than usual eloquence on so sublime a subject as the completion of all the prophecies and types in the person of Jesus Christ? And if to all this we add the first education of St. Paul at Tarsus, a city eminent not only for the imperial favours conferred upon it, but also for the politeness of its inhabitants and the flourishing of arts and sciences among them, we shall soon see a sufficient reason why St. Paul might be eloquent if he thought proper, though at other times he did not

choose it. The world at that time was eloquently mad, and the chair of the philosopher, instead of being the seat of truth, was only the seat of words, and polite Athens, like refined London, must have a fresh novel every day to tickle their itching ears. It was the pride of science and these irregular desires of the human heart (which rather than want subjects to exercise itself upon would bring even divine truths to the bar of human reason) which the Son of God came to destroy; and therefore, in conformity to the example of his great master, St. Paul, when he preached to the Gentiles, came not in excellency of speech, but in weakness, in fear and much trembling, determining to know nothing among them but Jesus Christ, and him crucified, which to the Greeks, who only sought after the wisdom of this world, was foolishness. As one main design of the gospel was to convince mankind of the state they were in, to teach them to know and feel their wants, and to inform them to whom and through whom they were to apply for assistance, and that in order to do this they were to lay aside all reasoning and submit every thought in the most simple manner to the obedience of Christ, it is no wonder that the apostles both wrote and spoke in a plain manner, which as it was more conformable to the truths they uttered, was also at the same time the greatest condemnation of the false eloquence of the wise men of the age, who, with all their fine reasonings, made no conversions, and reformed neither cities, states nor empires, because their philosophy was more adapted to exercise the tongue than convince the understanding or conquer the heart. But when this great apostle is writing to his countrymen he has none of these prejudices to encounter, for they were not tainted with the pride of human learning. He sets before them the completion of the prophecies, the superior dignity of the Christian priesthood, the peculiar advantages of the law of grace, and the danger of neglecting so great salvation that was promised to those who continued to the end, and from this takes occasion in the most pathetic manner to exhort them to be faithful. This epistle or book is of a different nature from the others, wrote to different people, and

contains a chain of reasoning from beginning to end, which was consistent enough and even necessary to the apostle's design, but which he has enforced in a more lively manner than usual, so that it has tempted many to think that as the style is different from St. Paul's, it must of consequence have been the produce of another pen; but if we consider the birth and education of this great apostle, and his spirited and polite defence before Agrippa and Festus, this opinion must lose much, if not all its strength, and we must at last be convinced that St. Paul, when he saw it necessary, could both write and speak with propriety and politeness. But if this will not do, let the original in which this epistle was wrote be produced, and I will yield. We have produced ours for near these 1700 years, and have enjoyed a long and uncontroverted possession, seldom disturbed by anything but the fears of the weak and the opinion of a few. If the advocates for the non-originality of the present Greek text assert that it was wrote in Syriac why do not the Syrian churches put in their claim, which I believe they never have? and if they did, their present version, which hath been always used, carries such evident marks of its Greek origin that this claim would soon be set aside, and the Greek restored to its undoubted right of being an *original*. I shall now conclude with asking you one question, viz., what the advocates for this opinion can aim at by setting aside the originality of the present Greek text? Morinus and Father Hardouin wanted to set up the vulgate as the true text, but that was abroad; at home we can have no such views, and therefore the consequences must be more dangerous, because it is easy for the adversary to deny any point of faith if we cannot produce proper vouchers for it, and which we cannot do if the originals are lost.

I hope you will excuse both the length and inaccuracies of this letter, for I am very often interrupted, and you will greatly oblige your most obedient humble servant,

P. BROWN.⁽¹⁾

(¹) The writer of this able letter was probably P. J. Brown M.D., of Manchester, (a disciple of Dr. Deacon,) who succeeded the nonjuring Mr. Kenrick Price, and like

1761.

[In Shorthand.]

Robert Markham to John Houghton.

Vale Royal, February 6th, 1761.

Dear Sir: By Wednesday last's post our common friend Mr. Cholmondeley⁽¹⁾ wrote to Lord Malpas⁽²⁾ (and through him to Lord Cholmondeley) and Mr. Wilbraham⁽³⁾ in your behalf; and I have herein sent for your further satisfaction the copies of both letters, which, in concurrence with the endeavours of your other friends, I most heartily wish may obtain the desired effect. For my own part I must confess that I honour Mr. Arden's⁽⁴⁾ sympathy as a friend, at the same time that I almost envy him the disinterested opportunity he now embraces in your favour, as you have the cordial good wishes of no one more sincerely than, dear sir, your obliged, humble servant,

ROBERT MARKHAM.⁽⁵⁾

P.S. The Abbot is now abroad, but will dine at home on Sun-

him had the title of Bishop. — See Aston's *Manchester Guide*. He is to be carefully distinguished from the Rev. J. Brown the author of Sermons, Tragedies, Poems, &c., and of "An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times," published in 1759, seven editions of which were called for in that year. Dr. Byrom wrote "Remarks on Dr. Brown's 'Estimate' written in the character of a Lady," and described the work as "rambling, scrambling, florid and polite," regarding the author more as a politician than a divine, and not having an exalted opinion of him in either capacity.

(¹) Thomas Cholmondeley of Vale Royal Esq. married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Edmund Cowper of Overlegh in the county of Chester Esq. and ob. 2nd June 1779, leaving issue, Thomas, created Baron Delamere in 1821.

(²) George Viscount Malpas, son of George third Earl of Cholmondeley, ob. v. p. in 1764, leaving issue George James, created Marquess of Cholmondeley and Earl of Rocksavage in 1815, and ob. in 1827.

(³) Randle Wilbraham of Rode Esq. M.P. and Deputy High Steward of the University of Oxford, ob. in 1770. He was grandfather of the first Lord Skelmersdale.

(⁴) John Arden of Harden Esq. born 1709, ob. 1787. He was father of the first Lord Alvanley, C. J.

(⁵) Probably a descendant of Robert Markham of Coatham in the county of Nottingham Esq. who in the time of Queen Elizabeth married, first, Agnes, daughter of Sir John Warburton of Cheshire, and had issue. Of this family was Archbishop Markham.

day, and hunt next week at Congleton, should you have any occasion to write to him again. I hope your cold is better, and that the ladies are very well.

[Copy of Mr. Cholmondeley's letter to Mr. Wilbraham, from Mr. Markham's letter to Mr. Houghton.]

Dear Sir: From letters which I have already received from Mr. Houghton, as well as an express from Mr. Arden and him jointly, you now wish, I believe, equally with us all, that Mr. Arden had never applied through your means to be excused for the present year.

When I accidentally mentioned it in conversation in London, you may remember that I expressed myself immediately very much afraid that some uneasiness might arise, because Mr. Houghton as well as Sir Ph. Chetwode⁽¹⁾ (the latter through Lady Stamford⁽²⁾ and the former through myself) had applied previously to Mr. Arden, and both obtained permission of being exempt. However, as the matter now stands, no retrospect will avail anything, and the best end which possibly can must be put to it. It is unnecessary to enter into Mr. Houghton's reason, because I thoroughly understand every particular from himself: but as he has mentioned me in his letter to you, I have therefore enclosed a copy of my letter writ by the post to Lord Malpas, which fully expresses my sentiments and wishes relating to this affair. I have therein mentioned an instance where I am assured the same thing has been done, and hope it may as effectually be procured in favour of Mr. Houghton, being very sensible that I am writing to a person than whom no one knows better how to act for the interest of his friends. I shall dwell no longer on this subject than to

⁽¹⁾ Sir Philip Touchet Chetwode of Chetwode Bart. who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of George Venables of Agden in the county of Chester Esq. (the relative of Byrom of Byrom) ob. 1764.

⁽²⁾ Lady Stamford was the great heiress of George the last Earl of Warrington and third Baron Delamere of that family, and married in 1736 Henry fourth Earl of Stamford.

inform you, at Mr. Houghton's request, that if any letter to Sir Richard Grosvenor⁽¹⁾ or Mr. Pitt⁽²⁾ would be of any service in this affair, or in short, if it is in my power to contribute by any means towards bringing it to an happy issue, you'll please to favour us with your advice, and I am ready to follow any steps which you are so kind as to point out upon Mr. Houghton's account. At present every step seems to me to be taken which the nature of the case will admit of; because Lord Granville,⁽³⁾ in my opinion, still appears to me to be the most proper person to apply to, and all the interest should be made to him that can be. Besides, till we know from you what effect Mr. A.'s friendship will produce, and are favoured with your sentiments upon it, nothing further can possibly be done. I've already assured Mr. H. that all I can do I will do.

To Randle Wilbraham Esq.

[Copy of Mr. Cholmondeley's letter to Lord Malpas.]

Vale Royal, February 4th, 1761.

My dear Lord will, I hope, excuse my troubling him once more on my friend Mr. Houghton's account, though it may probably at first view not only appear troublesome, but unnecessary, since Mr. Houghton is already inserted as sheriff in the *Gazette*. A *dernier ressort*, however, is still left through the friendship of Mr. Arden, if supported by the immediate assistance and interposition of such friends who can procure the exchange of names before the office is actually entered upon. An express was actually sent up

⁽¹⁾ Sir Richard Grosvenor the seventh Baronet, created Baron Grosvenor of Eaton in 1761, and Viscount Belgrave and Earl Grosvenor in 1784. He ob. in 1802, and his only son Robert was created Marquess of Westminster in 1831, and ob. in 1845.

⁽²⁾ Probably John Pitt of Encombe Esq. M.P. who ob. 1787, and whose daughter had married George James Cholmondeley Esq.

⁽³⁾ John second Lord Carteret and in right of his mother Earl Granville K.G. after filling many high offices was constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and dying in 1763, was succeeded by his son, at whose death s.p. in 1776 all the honours expired.

on Monday evening to Mr. Wilbraham from Mr. Houghton and Mr. Arden jointly (between whom a long established friendship has subsisted from their childhood) commissioning Mr. Wilbraham to withdraw Mr. Arden's application for being excused, and also to solicit his nomination to the office if Mr. Houghton could not otherwise be omitted, being thoroughly sensible that his friend's inconveniences would be greatly superior to his own, of which he was entirely ignorant when he applied to Mr. Wilbraham to be excused for the present year. This being now the case, permit me to solicit Lord Cholmondeley (to whom be so kind to show this with my respectful compliments) and yourself for your immediate application to Lord Grenville that he will be so kind as to use his influence with his Majesty to procure this exchange of names either through himself or any other privy councillor. An instance of this, I am credibly informed, has already happened; when Mr. Hall of Hermitage⁽¹⁾ some years ago was nominated in the same manner instead of Mr. Starkey of Wrenbury, who was actually gazetted and afterwards excused. My friendship for Mr. Houghton makes me flatter myself that the same favour may now be obtained for him, since Mr. Arden at present solicits it, instead of discouraging, for himself; and if Lord Cholmondeley and yourself could obtain it through your influence with Lord Granville, would confer a very great obligation upon me, and fill the breast of my deserving friend with eternal gratitude. It now gives me concern that I inserted him in the list of justices of the peace for this county, because this may probably have occasioned the other; I did it indeed from a knowlege of his worth. Bishop Markham⁽²⁾ joins with me in respectful compliments to Lady Malpas and your Lordship, who I hope will pardon these frequent applications from, my dear Lord, your Lordship's truly affectionate kinsman and sincere friend,

THOS. CHOLMONDELEY.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Malpas.

⁽¹⁾ See pedigree in Ormerod's *Cheshire*.

⁽²⁾ This is probably a facetious title, as Dr. William Markham did not become Bishop of Chester until 1771, and Archbishop of York in 1777, and no other individual of the name ever attained the mitre.

[Copied when sent by Beppy — Friday, the Fast-day.]

J. Houghton to Miss Byrom.

London, Tuesday night.

Dear niece: I write to acquaint you, and by you all your and my family, that my difficulties are now in a fair way of being all over, with a probability of [not] meeting with any other stumbling-block. I wrote word in my last that I was appointed to wait upon Mr. Wilbraham on Sunday evening; I did so; he had been that morning with Lord Grenville who did not comply so readily with his request as he expected; said that the affair was out of his hands; had delivered the Roll after the King had signed it into my Lord Chancellor's hands; that if they were to give way to such alterations the sheriffs would never be fixed; that every man appointed would be making interest through some friend or other to have it altered. Mr. Wilbraham informed him that in this case it must come at last to be altered, for that the gentleman appointed would not serve the office, that he was a good Protestant and a loyal subject but had invincible scruples against the Abjuration Oath; he then desired Mr. Wilbraham to go to the Lord Chancellor and tell him that he wished to have the thing done. Mr. Wilbraham could not tell what to make of being referred backward and forward between the Lord Chancellor and the Lord President, but would go the next morning; so I passed Monday still in uncertainty, and went at eight o'clock to see Mr. W. but got not to see him till near ten, who then told me he had been with the Lord Chancellor, who promised him that the next Council-day he would take the Roll and go to the King before they met, [and] should get my name exchanged for Mr. Arden's; so now I suppose I shall hear no more of it, but I must stay till I hear that it is absolutely fixed. If I could have got any other person besides Mr. Arden appointed I should have liked it better than even to have been excused at first, as it is possible it may be of service to others in my situation, but that I believe could not have been done; however, Mr. W^m had put it into this train before I got up, so the chief intent of my journey with Mr. Egerton was not to be answered; I am in haste,

going to stay with Ned G. the remainder of the time I shall be detained here. Love, service, &c., to all yours and my relations and friends, from your affectionate uncle, J. HOUGHTON.

I partly think of setting out on Monday, or perhaps Thursday after, by the Manchester coach.

[In Shorthand.]

April 2, 1761.

Mr. John Wesley and Mr. Philips called here about ten o'clock, and stayed till about twelve; he said that Mr. Okeley was well in health at Bedford with the Moravians, and was the teacher of the children;⁽¹⁾ that he had his wife and three children in them, to which he seemed to lay the reason of his return there again; that he had seen him lately — that he had told him that he loved him; his brother, Charles Wesley, he said was ill at Bristol or Bath, and had been confined by a disorder in his stomach which the doctors could not cure, and called it the gout. That Lady Huntington was ill, and a more charming woman than ever; that she is the lady to whom Mr. Law wrote the letters in his book. We had again the talk about his letter to Mr. Law, but to no other effect than two years ago. I asked if the Preface against the Mystics in his first Hymn Book was continued, and he said that he knew of no alteration; I said at last, if he would but let me know if ever he changed his mind I would say no more upon the subject. I mentioned the six men who had been read out of his society for reading Jacob Behmen and Mr. Law, as one of them had told me, and had desired me to speak to him last year, but I had not then the pleasure of seeing him. He appeared to be warm on that article; said, when I mentioned their being turned out for reading, "That was because they told me lies." I asked was there any such paper read; but he cut the matter short by saying that "it signified nothing what had been done by others, for he had spoken to every one of them in particular and to all of them together, and they would not comply; and he rejected them, not for reading the

(¹) i.e. the children of the Moravian Society there established.

books, which was as indifferent as the colour of their hair, but if they would thrust their hair into other people's eyes, and trouble them with their notions — that was his reason."

Mr. Philips, who was silent mostly, said that the reading against them was an indiscreet thing; but Mr. Wesley did not say anything of that, but put the matter, somehow, very magisterially upon his own authority; so that I used the expression of Pope John to him and Your holiness; and thought him full hard enough upon the men, that they must not speak their sentiments, for what if others began first; but he was very decisive in this case, from his own determination. He said Mr. Berridge's⁽¹⁾ letters were not sent to Mr. Martin of Gotham, but one Mr. Pointer, a strange, wild man, who exposed it. Upon my mentioning Mr. Law's book about it, he said that they wanted him to answer it, but he had better business; I said I thought he had a juster provocation to it than he had to write his letter to Mr. Law, because Methodism itself was attacked by it; he said that he had answered Mr. Law in the newspapers; and I said, But how? what argument have you produced? he said, I do not treat him with contempt as he does me; I said, Your treatment of him is very strange, making him a deist, to deny God's power, justice, &c. And so we talked of wrath again, which I said he confounded with justice, which was a good thing, but wrath an evil, — which he would not allow.

I asked his opinion about what was called the day of grace being over; he said he believed it might be, but never met with any instances but one, in a man that was to be executed, whom he found to be perfectly unconcerned though he knew he was going to be with devils, and described a strange case; but I could not allow that God's grace was then none, but not admitted by the man. I asked who the Mystic was that said marriage was licensed whoredom; he said it was Mercet, whose works I understood him to say were printed in Scotland, but he was going to Edinburgh and should know. I said that it seemed to me that

⁽¹⁾ This singular man was popularly called "The spiritual comet." His imitators have been Rowland Hill and more recently — Spurgeon.

the deists in their way, and the Methodists in their way, and so others, denied inspiration since the apostles, if there; I desired him to name any one, for that his being for the Bible only was like as if Mr. Madan,⁽¹⁾ when he was in the law, a counsellor, should cry, My lord, I am for the act of parliament; he said that all good authors might be inspired, but there was none but who mixed their own spirit; that Thomas à Kempis was next to the Bible, but in him there was transubstantiation and purgatory, and I could not get the smallest entire book that was quite through inspired. This Mr. Madan, he said, was a famous mimic, and came to hear him in order to take him off, but was himself taken off his Deism; that his father, the colonel, was dead, had left him £1,800 a year; that he had a chapel of his own in some street, could not get ordained by the Bishop of London under pretence of want of a title; but was ordained by the Bishop of Winchester,⁽²⁾ who at ninety-three was hearty. That Madan, Romaine, &c., were Half-regulars, for he divided them into Regulars, Half-regulars, and Ir-regulars; that Romaine had not got a living as I had been told; that Lord Dartmouth⁽³⁾ had been turned by Mr. Walker of Truro; that Mr. Milner⁽⁴⁾ was very well, and went on very well at his own curacy; that Mr. Peronnet⁽⁴⁾ he had had a letter from lately, and he was very well, and more discreet by his account than I seemed to think him when Mr. Philips⁽⁴⁾ came to me with his letter to be printed here, upon which I told Mr. Philips I had drawn up my remarks but that he had [not] called for them as he said he would. He knew nothing of Mr. Hooke. He said

(1) Rev. Martin Madan B.A. the author of "A Full and Compleat Answer to the capital Errors contained in the Writings of the late Rev. William Law M.A., in a Letter to a Friend, with a Preface." He was chaplain to the Lock Hospital, and the author of the famous work "Thelyphthora." He ob. in 1790 æt. 64.

(2) Hoadly — born 1676, ob. 1761 æt. 85.

(3) William Legge second Earl of Dartmouth, born 1731, married 1755, and ob. 1801. He was the friend of Walker, John Newton of Olney, and other good men of the same school.

(4) These individuals were all distinguished followers of the Wesleys, although some of them retained their position in the English Church.

it was Mr. Langcot, a gentleman of the Temple, that Mr. Law wrote letters to in the collection, and thought that I had known him; but I said, No, I knew one Mr. Lindsay (but not Langcot) a friend of Mr. Law's. He said that Mr. Spangenberg as well as Count Zinzendorf was dead; that he had sent to the Moravians to propose a collection, but had had no answer, and speaking of it to Mr. Okeley⁽¹⁾ once, he was told that implicit obedience to the Count was an article that would not be dispensed with; he said that Mr. Hervey⁽²⁾ had left Cudworth, of whom he was quite fond, that Cudworth was a follower of Mr. Whitfield (just dead⁽³⁾ in the *General Evening Post* of Tuesday's coming here), would be a preacher with him, not liked by Whitfield, set up for himself and Antinomianism; that *Nathaniel Ship* was a [character in a] piece by Foote;⁽⁴⁾ that the polyglot pamphlet which I showed him might be written by Sandeman or Glass;⁽⁵⁾ that the Irish Archdeacon who is here (Mr. G-l-d-n-y) had invited him to preach in Ireland, and particulars that I do not recollect, but upon my saying that his words, viz. that opinions were a small part, if any, of religion, which had been taken notice of by Dr. Warburton and Green, could not be

(1) Francis Okeley, a learned but enthusiastic divine, who died at Bedford 1794. He published among other works, a list of which will be seen in Watt's *Bib. Brit.*, "Memoirs of Jacob Behmen," 1780, 12mo.

(2) Rev. James Hervey B.A., vicar of Weston Flavel, author of the "Meditations," "Theron and Aspasio," &c. Byrom wrote some poetical "Thoughts on Imputed Righteousness," after reading the latter work. Hervey died in 1758 in his 44th year.

(3) He died of asthma, Sept. 30th 1770, in his 56th year.

(4) Samuel Foote Esq., the eminent writer and actor in comedy, opened the Haymarket theatre in 1747, with a sort of drama called "The Diversions of the Morning," which contained a burlesque upon well-known characters in real life, his amazing powers of imitating the manner and voice of individuals attracting large crowds. "An Auction of Pictures" was another piece of the same kind, full of personalities, vivacity and humour. Wesley and Whitfield both fell under Foote's satirical lash, and Dr. Johnson said his wit was "irresistible." Foote died in 1777.

(5) Both Scotch Ministers, and the founders of sects bearing their names, although their disciples are now few in number. The Rev. Robert Sandeman married the daughter of the Rev. John Glass, and their religious notions were very similar. They wrote a large number of controversial tracts, now forgotten, and Sandeman addressed a series of Letters to Hervey on his "Theron and Aspasio."

defended but by a mystic manner, he said that I should do the Archdeacon good he thought if I was to talk with him, but why I know not, for I forgot to mention the Hutchinsonian notions of which I am told that gentleman is fond.⁽¹⁾

Thomas Patten⁽²⁾ to *John Byrom*.

Childrey, Saturday, April 25, 1761.

Dear Sir: I own it to be a great inconsistency that I was extremely pleased with the permission you gave me to write to you, and yet have deferred it so long. If I were a wit or a philosopher, I should in a moment account for this inconsistency; as it is, I must content myself with saying that, bad as it is, I wish it were the worst I am guilty of. It is indeed a sort of foible which all mankind abounds with, though some have better reasons to allege for them than others. Some are inconsistent by going over from false or foolish conceits to the side of truth and sobriety; others by a continual oscillation from one extreme of folly to another; and others, again, by falling off from wisdom to folly. No man has been more charged with this seeming, though not always real, mark of levity than your much valued friend⁽³⁾ who now sleeps in Christ, and who proved upon the head of the arch-heretic⁽⁴⁾ who departed soon after him, as well as upon that of your right reverend correspondent, W. W.[arburton], that he was the best reasoner as well as the best writer of the age he lived in. Whether he is to be ranked in my first or my third class of inconsistent would bear some dispute in a council of modern scholars, but I fear a majority would carry it for the latter.

But whatever they might determine, I for my part shall never be backward to pronounce him to be the great restorer of true, spiritual Christianity, which was well nigh lost in the metaphysical *mist* of modern *theologians*. He hath evidently shown (what few even attempted) the Scripture-necessity of our being partakers of

⁽¹⁾ These memoranda are valuable, as showing the relation in which Byrom stood to Wesley, on which point there have been different opinions.

⁽²⁾ See *Note* 1, p. 503 ante.

⁽³⁾ Law.

⁽⁴⁾ Hoadly.

the Divine nature, and made like unto God by the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us, in order to eternal blessedness. And if, following his dark theosopher, he hath erred in attempting to account for this necessity by a kind of physical theory, I think it would be very unjust to condemn his excellent writings in the gross, some of which have so consummately executed his great important purpose — to explain the righteousness which is by faith in Jesus Christ.

I doubt not but the world is to see something from your pen on the subject of this great man's character and writings, and that it might be the more generally read, I heartily wish it might be in prose. There are numbers of grave people who never read verse, because they expect nothing but trifles under that form; they who do read it take it up only for amusement, and if what they find there be not of their sort, they hastily lay it down again. It is for this reason that I should be heartily glad to see your well-reasoned performance on the subject of inoculation⁽¹⁾ published in prose, in which form I think it would generally be esteemed one of the most unanswerable books that ever were sent into the world — which greatly needs to be set right in that important point. Whilst Mr. Law is in sight, I must remember to tell you that Lord Lyttleton⁽²⁾ having lately taken up the *Serious Call* about bedtime at a friend's house was fascinated to read it quite through before he could go to rest, and was not a little astonished to find that one of the finest books that ever were written had been penned by a *crack-brained enthusiast*!

I left you engaged in a sort of controversy with my well-meaning old master,⁽³⁾ which I hope terminated amicably after a few letters *pro* and *con.* upon the subject of theatrical performances. The writer of the epilogue seemed perfectly of your opinion on this

(1) It appears in verse in the collected volumes.

(2) George first Lord Lyttleton, the poet and historian, ob. 1773.

(3) Rev. William Purnall M.A. High Master of the Grammar School. See *Note 1*, p. 502 ante.

subject, though the imputing of it to your Muse could be no great compliment to her.

We are much concerned to hear of Miss Dolly's sad accident, and heartily wish it may turn out more favourably than was at first apprehended. On Thursday last I was within a tenth of an inch of suffering the like calamity, a chaise wheel having grazed so close to the side of my foot as to swell it and make me hobble for many hours after.

I know not with what face I could ask to hear from you in answer to a sheet so poorly filled, but *epistola non erubescit*; let it then be my spokesman, and tell you with all its impudence that a letter from you would give a very great pleasure to, dear sir, your obliged and affectionate humble servant,

THO. PATTEN.

My sisters desire to join with me in best compliments to the ladies of your family.

To Dr. Byrom, in Manchester.

R. Leycester to John Byrom.

Toft, 13th November, 1761. Friday night.

Dear Byrom: I have sent you a hare that was alive this day. You must remember that formerly a Toft hare would have produced a copy of verses,⁽¹⁾ and I hope that you still love hares as well as I do verses. Be that as it will, I shall be glad to hear in verse or prose that you are as well as I wish you to be. I grow old, stir little abroad, and lament that I am not able to put myself in your way so oft as in former days.

With kind love to yourself and family, I remain, yours most affectionately,

R. LEYCESTER.

You find K. George and Mr. Pitt are the present darlings of this nation. Such strange alterations happen everywhere that I shall be surprised at nothing.

To Dr. Byrom, in Manchester.

⁽¹⁾ See Byrom's *Poems*, vol. i. p. 136, edit. 1814.

1762.

[Shorthand.]

Tuesday, April 20th, 1762: This afternoon Mr. Newton⁽¹⁾ from Liverpool called upon me and brought a small letter from Mr. Rd. Houghton, and said that he had been at Warwick and had been preacher some (six I think) weeks to an Anab. or Indep. congregation; that they had had some differences, not about doctrine but maintenance; that two of them had come to invite him thither again, and he had given the collector⁽²⁾ notice that he would resign his place in the custom house on some Tuesday, but on the Sunday before he had information that his chief friend was grown cool about his coming; he came here upon account of the opening of the new

(¹) The Rev. John Newton, ordained Curate of Olney in 1764, and died Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, the 31st December 1807, æt. 82. His life was varied and eventful; for he wished it to be recorded in his epitaph that he was "once an infidel and libertine, a servant of slaves in Africa; but by the rich mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, preserved, restored, pardoned, and appointed to preach the faith he had long laboured to destroy." In the "Authentic Narrative of his Life," first published in February 1764, he says "his first thought was to join the Dissenters, from a presumption that he could not honestly make the required subscriptions, but Mr. C.[adogan] moderated his scruples, and preferring the Established Church in some other respects, he solicited ordination in 1758, but was refused." In his "Apologia, or 4 Letters to a Minister of an Independent Church," he observes: "My first overtures were to the Dissenters, and had not the Providence of God remarkably interposed to prevent it, I should probably have been a brother with you in every sense. But my designs were overruled . . . Delays and disappointments afforded me time to think and judge for myself, and the more I considered the point the more my scruples against conformity gave way. . . And I seriously assure you that though I took this step [of being episcopally ordained] with a firm persuasion that it was right, I did not at that time see so many reasons to justify my choice, nor perhaps any one reason in so strong a light, as I have since. And far from regretting my conduct for a single hour, I have been more satisfied with it from year to year." — *Works*, p. 882. It is somewhat remarkable that in the "Memoirs of the Rev. John Newton," prefixed to his collected Works, there is no reference to his labours at Warwick or elsewhere amongst the Dissenters. It is merely observed that "it seems Mr. Newton had made some small attempts at Liverpool in a way of preaching or expounding, and many wished him to engage more at large in ministerial employment," but his views were towards the Church, p. 40.

(²) "The Collector" of the Customs; Mr. Newton being at this time a tide surveyor in the port of Liverpool, a place procured for him by Mr. Manesty. — *Memoirs*, p. 38.

meeting [house] at the upper end of this croft to-morrow, and to see some ministers and friends with whom he was acquainted, and to show them specimens of his English Dictionary of Greek Words,⁽¹⁾ of which he left with me a paper book of 47 leaves, beginning with *ελπιζω to hope*, &c., and ending with *εκπληθω to unfold*; at the end of which at the bottom, "Plus ultra Domine progrediar, lumen tu concede favens. Totum muneris hoc tui est, et sine tua ope cor et calamus pariter elanguescerent."

Mr. Houghton of Liverpool and he acquainted; Mr. Houghton calls him a very well disposed man, strongly attached to the Calvinistic system, that he professes a great veneration for Mr. Law, but ingenuously owns that he cannot fathom his depths; I have had, says he, frequent conversations with him, and he always argues with fairness and candour, and seems desirous for the truth for its own sake.

His dictionary seemed to be laborious but not particularly extraordinary, nor does he understand Hebrew, nor has he read any Greek authors but the New Testament and Septuagint except some pages of Xenophon, but thinks he can trust others in that matter.

John Newton to Mr. Houghton.

Edmund Street, 18th November 1762.

Sir; This accompanies the account of the Society you desired, which I received by post on Sunday evening. I would then have sent it to your house but that I had understood you were not to leave Liverpool till Tuesday. My friend has been ill, which prevented its coming sooner. I shall be glad if the scheme meets with your approbation. The subscription is not dignified with so many titles of honour as the corporate societies; but in this respect perhaps

⁽¹⁾ "The Dictionary" never saw the light, and Byrom's estimate of its merit was doubtless correct. Newton published, whilst a layman in Liverpool, a volume of Sermons, dated January 1, 1760, and in 1762 his Omicron, to which his Letters, signed Vigil, were afterwards annexed; so that at this time he was not, as a man holding strong opinions and of remarkable character, likely to be undervalued or overlooked by Dr. Byrom, whose peculiar disposition always led him to take an interest in such individuals. He evidently approved of Newton's Liverpool sermons.

it has the advantage, that the greater part of them are truly spiritual persons, who endeavour to advance the work, not only with their money, but by their example and prayers. I do not mean to insinuate that there are not many such in the other societies, but in all undertakings that have a sanction from names and powers of great estimation in the world, there will be too many who engage from inferior and unworthy motives, and who like a dead weight will in some degree weaken the success of the design.

I beg, sir, you will present my sincere respects to Dr. Byrom. I should have been glad to have waited upon him while *you* are at Manchester, but opportunity is wanting. If you have taken Edwards's book⁽¹⁾ with you I hope that it may not be to the disadvantage of my favourite author. In that performance he appears a dry metaphysician, but this was not his usual way of writing. I know no man more obvious and experimental in the other treatises of his publishing which have come to my perusal. But his inquiry into the freedom of will was wrote *ad hominem*, against a set of writers who by subtil distinctions and fine spun reasonings, while they professed to recommend the *το καλον* of virtue, almost undermined the foundations upon which alone it stands. To sweep away their cobwebs was his principal design; though he incidentally treats of the point between the Doctor and me, and I think plainly shows that when we attempt from the analogy of our own ideas to determine absolutely how the Almighty should act, or conclude that whatever is harsh difficult or perhaps absurd to us, must necessarily be so in itself, we may easily go too far. For my own part, I endeavour to restrain the workings of my mind upon matters that are too high for me within these two principles: 1. That the Judge of all the earth will do right. 2. That a period is coming when this shall be confessed and known by all his intelligent creatures. I believe that man is justly chargeable for his own evil. God cannot be the author of evil any more than the rays of the sun can turn water into ice or

(1) Jonathan Edwards's famous "Inquiry into the modern prevailing Notion of that Freedom of the Will which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency," first published in 1754.

day into night. Yet unless he did more for some than for others, I am persuaded we should all be alike. If, without his grace striving against and overpowering my obstinacy, I had been a blasphemer to this hour — if this grace which saved me is not afforded to some others who equally need it — it seems to me that I have been peculiarly favoured; and indeed I would rather admire at it than dispute about it. And after all, what harm can it do either to myself or to others, that I choose to ascribe the happy change I experience rather to his goodness than to my own?

When the Doctor has done with the book, I would be obliged to him, if he pleases, to let a servant leave it for Mr. Warhurst at Mr. Clegg's in Turner Street. This gentleman is minister of the Independent Chapel, and a truly humble, pious man. I hope for the pleasure of seeing you upon your return. Mrs. Newton desires her compliments to you, and I beg you will believe me to be, with a sincere respect, Sir, your obliged servant, JOHN NEWTON.

To Richard Houghton Esq., at Dr. Byrom's,
in Manchester.

John Byrom to Mr. Houghton.

“Jonathan Edwards, by this book's edition,
Appears to be a dry metaphysician” —
(In Mr. N's. own letter); — well might I
Be disappointed in a book so dry,
So sapless dry, who cherish no opinion
Of Calvinistic cobwebs, or Arminian.

To sweep away the last, was the design
Of this distinguished, favourite divine,
His principal intention; — be it so;
This was no part of my concern to know,
No part of my expectancy to find,
Whose hopes, though faint, were of a different kind;
Something, I fancied, worth attending to
Might probably enough occur to view

Within a work, which so sincere a friend
To what he thought was right, did so commend.

If, when for want of time to reconcile
Our thoughts in one short conversation while,
I asked what author, he supposed, if read,
Would best explain his notions? — he had said,
“ I’ll send you one of the New England sages,
Who, in four hundred full octavo pages,
Has, by his dry and metaphysic skill,
Demolished every meaning of Free Will;
But brought, in dire Necessity’s behoof,
Less obvious, less experimental proof;
Leaving, in this attempt, the usual way
Of writing which his other books display.” —
Such a description (and his words contain
No less, you see, if suffered to speak plain)
Might have diminished the profound surprise
Which in my mind would naturally rise,
Without the help of such a previous hint,
From dry Enquiry’s metaphysic print.

Without disparaging the works unknown,
I really could not relish this, I own;
Nor cease to wonder how your neighbour could,
Who had himself said many things so good
In sermons, far surpassing, if one looks,
All such polemically withered books.
In this, too oft, instead of the divine,
The wrangling soph appears along the line;
The trifling shuffler of distinctions round,
All sense of words still fashioned to confound,
All obvious thoughts concerning good and ill,
Through mere aversion to a man’s Free Will;
Which, oft confessed in phrases tantamount,
The tedious page still rambles to discount;
Its metaphysical conceits among,
Dry, as the cobwebs which they sweep along.

“ The book has been in print for many years,
And yet no answer, 'tis observed, appears.”
But, would our honest friend consider, why
Its very dryness might forbid reply ;
And metaphysics, such as it pursues,
Require some patience even to peruse ;
Want of an answer he would scarce object ;
Since, by their own voluminous defect,
Some books may possibly be deemed too bad
For any formal answer to be had.

But, take the book who likes it, — Mr. N.
Himself, for me, has much the better pen ;
And, were his better sense but once untied
From partial systems, upon every side,
He would soon see that gratitude of mind
Did not require God's grace to be confined ;
And not to show like favour, in like case,
In order more to magnify the grace ;
As if it wanted, for a foil, to doom
Its equal needers to eternal gloom.

“ If I had been,” says he, “ but for the power
Of grace bestowed, blasphemer to this hour ;
This grace to me if God is pleased to grant,
Not to some others who have equal want ;
I am, I think, in equal case of need,
Peculiarly favoured ; which, indeed,
I rather would admire at than dispute ;
And after all, what harm can be the fruit
Of happy change ascribed to Him alone,
And to His goodness rather than my own ?”

Doubtless, all praise to God alone is due
For happy change ; but, is it therefore true
That this good God refuses to admit
The change in others, in all points as fit
For such a blessing ? will this Father leave
One child without, that can or will receive ?

Is a self righteousness so much amiss
That makes man's merit greater than it is?
And a self-favour'dness from danger free,
That, clinging to its own peculiar me,
Cries, "God, I thank thee that I am supplied
With grace, to other men like me denied?"

Let Mr. N. consider what is done
(It is his own allusion) by the sun;
Unchanged itself, it shines with equal day
On equal fitness to receive its ray.
All Calvinistic or Arminian strain
Is cobweb search; a principle so plain
Sets this (on which he goes) in its true light,
"Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

1763.

Francis Okeley⁽¹⁾ to John Byrom.

Bedford, March 5th, 1763.

Dear Sir: Writing to my brother-in-law, who with my sister lives at Dukinfield, I found a strong inclination to visit you with a few lines, with no other intent than to let you know the tender

(¹) The following letters from Okeley to Byrom were not discovered in time to be inserted in their proper places, and are here given to complete the correspondence of this biographer of the Mystics. Okeley afterwards published "The Divine Visions of John Engelbrecht, with a preliminary View of the Author's Life and Writings, translated from the original German," Northampton 1780, 2 vols. 12mo.

Wyke, near Smithouse and Halifax, June 11th, 1756.

Dear Sir: Having now a very good opportunity, I cannot but gladly lay hold of it to salute you and your good family very cordially with a few lines. And I think myself under an obligation of duty to you, as well as pleasure to myself, in so doing; because I have left your parts and taken with me your pamphlet concerning John Engelbrecht. The truth is, I did at first intend to remit it you immediately upon my departure from Dukinfield through the hands of Mr. Longworth or John Hindley: but as I found something in this piece of an engaging nature to me, and what I thought might also prove an entertainment and blessing to my friends, when read here and there to them occasionally, I ventured to presume upon your tacit consent to take it along with me hither to that end; and I hope you have not taken it amiss of me. I should have returned it again, together with these lines, if the same reason of my bringing it from

regard I still bear towards you in consequence of the agreeable acquaintance we once cultivated together when my tent was pitched in

Dukinfield did not still in part subsist. You may however depend upon my faithfulness in returning it again by some good and safe opportunity. I ingenuously own that I have had some thoughts of getting it reprinted and dispersed abroad in our nation, as a thing that might do some good to ministers and people of all denominations. To be sure, the leading of John Engelbrecht is altogether extraordinary, and the things he speaks of scarcely credible, unless duly attested, as these seem to be, by all the evidence belonging to a matter of fact of this nature. Neither do I know any argument of this kind brought against Deists in vindication of the historical tracts of the apostolic times, which do not seem equally applicable here. The leading, as I said, is quite extraordinary, yet duly attested; and the scope of this book and all his other aims are evidently sober and scriptural, and therefore would, if duly attended to and practised, prove a universal benefit to mankind. This drift of the book was to me so apparent, that I must own I have had the thought, whether the whole was not a fiction, or at least a truth exaggerated with a good and pious design of contributing something to promote universal repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ. But the testimonies of Madame Bourignon, Poiret, &c., in the preface fully confuted such a thought. In some things, where incredulity would be a virtue, our poor nation is credulous enough; and in others, where incredulity is a vice of the deepest dye and most dangerous consequence, they make a profession of, yea glory in their incredulity. And therefore I am afraid that if such a book as this of John Engelbrecht's could be put into their hands, the most would endeavour to find a means both to discredit the matter of fact and to decry the scope of the book as fanaticism and enthusiasm. So true is that position of our Saviour's parable, or perhaps true story, of Dives and Lazarus, viz. that if they believe not Moses and the prophets (i.e. the Bible and the true preachers thereof) neither would they be persuaded though one rose from the dead. Some might perhaps allege this very text to prove that John Engelbrecht's whole affair was either a fiction or an enthusiastical fancy of his brain; but I cannot think that our Saviour's meaning here was to assert that never any one should rise from the dead, or from such a trance almost equivalent to it, for the conviction of unbelievers, but only to show its inefficacy in that and many other cases where the usual and ordinary means are neglected and made void. But where he has bound up his own hands in such a manner that he could not, if he pleased, even exhibit a proof of his assertion, had it no better effect, I do not see. I must therefore own that I could wish this piece was republished in our nation; and if it was, I am pretty sure it would be of good use to many thousands, was it only well timed and placed and sufficiently backed by the faithful and true witness in every man's heart and conscience. Otherwise, the letter of this and all other books, not excepting the Bible itself, might be, and is actually, of pretty much the same use in Christendom as the armour and other military weapons in the Tower of London are till the king orders them to be put into the hands of his soldiers.

Dukinfield. As it will be natural for you to think with yourself what has passed with me since I had the pleasure of seeing you last in the

Till then, the one goes no further than merely to good speculations and religious exertations, as the other is only for ornament and show. O my dear Sir, may we live to see England again, as it has many times already been, and even in our days, the seat of war to that general mentioned Rev. vi. 2, xix. 11 sqq. What I here mean is truly no fifth monarchy fanaticism, nor any worldly carnal weapons whatsoever, but something purely spiritual; yet for all that, that *his arrows* may be sharp in the heart of the king's enemies, whereby the people fall under him, Ps. xlv. 5. At such a time and in such circumstances, possibly this pamphlet and many other productions of his faithful people of old may prove such sharp arrows. Truth, Truth, in the hand of the Spirit of Truth, and of his faithful and true witnesses, is our spiritual armour and force. Veritas magna est et prævalebit. To be in my day and generation one of this happy cloud, who by word and deed furthers this cause, is truly my highest ambition. Let me but have *this* honour and happiness, and then I will have nothing to do with disturbing any government of *this* world, but be faithfully and conscientiously subject, actively or passively, to the powers that be, as ordained of God. But doubtless where one sees, as in our own nation and under the mild government thereof, his Gospel has liberty to run and be glorified, there one cannot but be doubly thankful, and heartily pray for the continuation thereof. Pardon this digression. The bearer hereof, Br. Poosky, is my successor in the Dukinfield plan, and when you come to be acquainted with him I believe you will find him agreeable and valuable beyond any poor recommendation of mine. I shall be glad of a few lines by any occasion from dear Dr. Byrom, for whom I have by my short acquaintance got a love which will, I hope, be always rather increasing than diminishing; especially as it began, has hitherto went on, and is likely to be finished upon the best foundation, which is our dear Lord and God Jesus Christ, who has redeemed us lost sinners with his own blood. May he increase this knowledge daily in both our hearts, which will make every other consideration mean and little to us. I am, dear Sir, yours unfeignedly,

FRAS. OKELY.

Please to let me know if you would have your book soon, and it shall be sent you.

To Dr. Byrom, Manchester.

London, April 14th, 1757.

Dear Sir: Providence has now cast my lot here in London again. I came hither with my wife from Yorkshire this day was se'nnight. I hope you have not taken it amiss of me that I have detained John Engelbrecht so long. When any one is risen from the dead you know it is natural to desire his conversation as long as possible. But the true reason is, a relation of mine in Northamptonshire, to whom I read it last September, sent expressly after me to Bedford to beg me to lend it her a while. As she was so desirous, and I hoped it might prove conducive to hers and others good, I thought I might presume upon your goodness so far as to leave it a while in her hands. I did so, and have not yet had an opportunity of receiving it again. How-

year 1758, I will acquaint you that after my tour through Ireland with Mr. J. W., and return to England, I found it would be impossible

ever I have met with a few copies of it here in London, and I thought therefore I would remit you one of them by this opportunity, with many thanks; and although it may not be your own individual copy, I suppose that will be the same to you. I must own again, as I have done before, that there is something in the book engaging to me, and I have found it so to many others, to whom I have occasionally shown it. I wish that mankind were more universally so disposed, that this and other books of the like nature might have their due effect upon them.

Dear Sir, permit me to say that, from the conversation and acquaintance I have had with you, I feel I love you, and have often thought of you with tenderness since I had the pleasure of seeing you last. You are a friend of God's people in every denomination, and I believe you rejoice heartily in their welfare and prosperity. If Manchester was no further from hence than it was from Dukinfield it would be a great piece of self-denial to me to be obliged to stay any long time before I came to see you. But, being as it is, I must at present content myself with visiting you with and should be glad to be visited again with an epistle from you.

If such a poor creature as I may be allowed to speak what lies upon my heart to one so much my superior, I cannot help adding how much I wish that you, dear Sir, may enter with your whole heart, quite practically, actively, and individually, into the grand affair of the soul's real salvation in the same heart where sin and misery is felt through the near presence of Jesus and his all-powerful blood shed for us. To be able with truth to say that this work is in any degree effected, or even effecting in us, is really of more worth than all the world besides. And when this is the case that we are ourselves saved, then we can be his witnesses with blessing to other souls, according to our place and station and abilities. Surely more of such are wanting every where amidst a gainsaying and adulterous generation. That you and I, dear Sir, may fully attain to this grace in our day and generation is the real wish and desire of my heart. My brother Greening, who is with me in the same house, desires me to remember his kind love to you very cordially.

Please to remember me also to your good spouse and daughters. I am, dear Sir,
your very affectionate and sincere friend, FRAS. OKELY.

At the Rev. Mr. Gambold's,
in Nevil's Court, Fetter Lane.

P.S. I hope the other inclosed piece of brother Carrick's will be agreeable for you and your friends to read it.

To Dr. Byrom, Manchester.

Dublin, April 9th, 1758.

Dear Sir: It is, I assure you, with pleasure that I reflect upon the short visit I made you at Manchester, and I have only been sorry that the shortness of my time would not allow me to stay longer with you. I did actually stay, as it was, beyond the extent of my time; for, at my return to Mr. Wesley, I found he had already

for me to join with him in the manner that would give satisfaction both to him and me ; and therefore I amicably withdrew to this my

dined and was just ready to take horse for Bolton. I gave your love to him as you desired, and he was glad I had been to see you ; for, notwithstanding any little differences in opinion, I find he loves you sincerely, which I was glad to see.

I remember, dear Sir, you desired me to write to you, which I promised to do, and will now therefore perform my promise.

The evening after I left you Mr. W. preached to a numerous auditory at Bolton, as he did again in his usual way at five o'clock the next morning ; and both times, I trust, not ineffectually. We breakfasted that day with Dr. Rogers of Bolton, who, I find, has wrote a tract against the Newtonian philosophy, with what merit I am unable to determine ; I only thanked God that our salvation and well-being was not dependent on any precarious system whatsoever. We reached Liverpool the same day, and had a very agreeable journey, during which Mr. W. and I had a good deal of conversation together concerning some appearances in the kingdom of God in our day. During our stay at Liverpool, which was ten days, he preached morning and evening, as usual, to *crowded* auditories, consisting of all sorts, especially in the evenings at seven o'clock. There is here a large, commodious, new room, built for the use of the Methodists, but not quite finished. Here I accidentally met with my friend Mr. Longworth at the preaching, who was glad to see me again. But one very agreeable circumstance of our stay here was, that by the means of one Mr. Newton, at whose house I dined with Mr. Wesley, I got acquainted with Mr. Peter Whitfield, of whom I had read in one of your Manchester newspapers when I lived at Dukinfield, but little thought of ever coming into his company. I think this gentleman is not only a profound scholar and well acquainted with the learned languages, but an honest and sincere searcher after truth, and not ashamed to countenance it (as his behaviour towards us attested sufficiently) so far as he thinks he sees it in any person. I know, dear Sir, that I may take the liberty of speaking freely with you. What a pity, methinks, it is, that you gentlemen of such good natural and acquired abilities, who have such a love for that which is good and amiable wheresoever you meet with it, you who have so much leisure and influence, are not proportionately desirous of becoming more and more inwardly and experimentally acquainted with it in your own souls, and more *active* in the *immediate* cause of God. I assure you it would be a great blessing to your own hearts and it would greatly tend to cure and rectify your closet-reflections upon the mistakes and inconsistencies of those who are so employed. For I need not tell you, that, as it is much easier to pull down than to build up, so it is much easier also to spy faults in others than to mend them in ourselves. This I do not say because I would accuse you of being peculiarly guilty of this, but only as being a fault we are all liable to, and as it occurred in the course of my writing. I am for my part far from censuring any who may think it their duty to live to God in a kind of recluse life ; but yet I think it must be owned that we ought to thank God also for those who think it their duty to act more extensively for God's cause upon

native place, where I have lived ever since in my own hired house, waiting to see what the Lord may be pleased to do further *with me*

the public theatre of the world. I am conscious to myself that I am and have hitherto been no remarkable hero in this way; but I honour those who are, and wish for grace to imitate them in all their *real* apostolical power as the witnesses of God. I believe I have told you before now that to become a true witness for God, and of the sufferings of Jesus, both in season and out of season, in public and from house to house, through honour and dishonour, is my greatest ambition. And I pray the Lord not to let me depart hence till mine eyes have *fully* seen and *more faithfully* published the salvation of God. I would not detract in the least from orthodoxy of opinion and the common unblameable Christian behaviour; they are very good, nay necessary in their places; but I am satisfied there is a being *endued with power from on high* which must be superadded to it if we are in the number of those who are said *to overcome the accuser of the brethren by the blood of the Lamb and the word of their testimony, and not to love their lives unto the death*. And I am positively sure that such as these were never more wanted than in our days. May God send them out into his harvest in the number, manner, and time that best pleases him!

Dear Sir, let me speak out and plainly with you, and I trust you will take it as it is designed and as it is, viz. the pure artless overflowing of my own heart towards you. From the conversation we have occasionally had together, I fear two ideas are hurtful to you, and I pray God you may examine your own heart how far my fears are grounded or not. I know you have a sense of your own depravity; but, dear Sir, does not your expectation of a sort of *purgative state out of the body* render you too indifferent about using duly the more certain and far less dangerous remedies the Gospel prescribes against it here? May the light of eternal truth search your heart in this respect. Again: how true and amiable soever the parental idea of the Godhead's love may in itself, et suppositis supponendis, be, yet, dear Sir, may you not, by *supposing no wrath in God*, inadvertently suppress the awakening power of God within your own soul, to the total hindrance of any real spiritual progress in the inward and divine life? Indeed this controversy seems to be a nicety, like that in philosophy — whether heat be in us or in the fire; and yet, as the fire will surely burn us if we come too near it, so the scriptural wrath of God we fear in our own consciences will be terrible beyond all imagination to us if we do not suffer his Spirit to awaken our hearts and bring us to the repentance not to be repented of. O how deep are the wiles of him who is said to be the deceiver of the whole world! May the merciful and faithful God preserve *us* from, and bring *us* out of all his snares!

Dear Sir, you will not, I hope, think me proud and assuming because I write in such a manner to you; indeed I do it out of a sincere love and good will which I bear you; and as I deal plainly with you, shall be thankful to be dealt with again in the same way if you have seen or apprehended anything of the like kind in me.

But I have made a long digression by occasion of the mention of Mr. P. Whitfield. We spoke *heartily* together, and by his desiring me to write to him, and otherwise, I

and *in me*. The first should have been put last ; you will, however, understand me. I am employed principally in teaching Latin and Greek to some young gentlemen belonging to the Brethren. In the year 1760, being at Northampton on business, I formed a design of once seeing with my bodily eyes so extraordinary a person as the Rev. William Law, and accordingly visited him at Cliffe on a Sunday. I spent at least four hours with him, during which he was uncommonly free and open towards me. I was particularly glad I seized the opportunity I did of going to see him ; for it has left such

found it was not unacceptable to him. But to proceed. I think I may say we had one of the most agreeable voyages from Liverpool to Dublin that could be wished. Ship, captain, passengers, as agreeable as could be expected, and a smooth, calm sea, and clear, serene sky throughout. Mr. W. preached on the quarter-deck to all in the ship between Penmenmawr hills on the Welsh coast and Holyhead. They were attentive, serious, and satisfied. In a word, we did and said what we pleased, which was, I believe, usefully improved. We were from Tuesday noon the 28th of March till Friday at the same time before we landed in Dublin.

Great numbers attend the preaching with attention and seriousness. By visiting from house to house with Mr. W. I got acquainted with many agreeable and pretty people. I have been surprised to find Dublin every way exceeding my expectations. Surely it is not right for our side of the water to overvalue themselves and undervalue others so much. I only wish their divine were equal to their human glory.

The 24th of April, God willing, Mr. W. sets out upon his tour through this kingdom, and I am to go with him in the company. I should be highly pleased with a letter from my much esteemed friend Dr. Byrom, which will be sure to meet with me if directed to be left at the New Room in the White Friars Street, Dublin. I beg to be remembered occasionally to the gentleman your son-in-law who came in when I was last with you. He has, I believe, a good disposition for God, as well as good abilities. May he only prize the one as they help the other forward. I particularly desire my respects to your spouse and the young gentlewomen your daughters. I am, dear Sir, with much respect, yours most affectionately, FRAS. OKELY.

P.S. Believe me that this whole letter is written from the pure motion of my own heart. And I cannot refrain from telling you that your friendly admonitions, not implicitly to entangle myself more than conviction of the truth will bear me out in, with Mr. W. and his people, are not lost upon me. All I can say is this, I was not easy in my heart among the Brethren, nor in the state of total inactivity I retired into for some time ; and as I could not but respect Mr. W. as one of the most *practical* of the awakened ministers I knew, I ventured in God's name to travel this journey with him. And I trust that I have a token from God that I am so far in his way.

2 P.S. Mr. Philips, the hatter, of your town, will at any time let you know the best opportunity of conveying a letter to me.

To Dr. Byrom, Manchester.

a tender impression upon me, that when my heart thinks, *Law is here no more!* I feel a pain not to be expressed. He spoke greatly in your favour when I occasionally mentioned that I had the pleasure of your acquaintance. "Dr. Byrom," says he, "is a man after my own heart." I have his last tract, called "An humble, earnest, and affectionate Address to the Clergy," in which, as in all his writings, are many incomparable things. I find the Bishop of Gloucester has been terribly stung by some reflections there bestowed on him, as well as in the Letter to the late Bishop of London. He is very furious against *Enthusiasm*. Some of my friends are apt to think he would not have ventured to attack Mr. Law had he been alive. Methinks I could wish the able pen of his friend Dr. Byrom might be taken up in his vindication. But I speak this perhaps as a fool. When I was with him I saw some figures⁽¹⁾ he pulled out of a drawer of his bureau, which I imagine Mr. Richardson the bookseller is going to publish with a volume of Jacob Behmen's works in quarto. Perhaps you, dear Sir, might there have an opportunity of bearing your testimony to your deceased friend. Most people think Mr. Law had intended a new edition of J. Behmen's works from the original fine German edition. I assure you Mr. Law was so open with me, that I have took down in writing the substance of our conversation together, which I keep as a great curiosity. But I could not find positively whether such an edition was intended by him or not. I asked Mrs. Hutchinson, the eldest of the two ladies with whom he lived, but she did not know. I have heard an anecdote of him, that just before his translation he rose up in the bed and said "Take away these filthy garments. I feel a fire of love within, which has burned up everything contrary to itself, and transformed everything to its own nature." O! may my latter end be like his! My paper obliges me to conclude. I hope the size of my paper and badness of writing will not be taken amiss, as I was in haste and wanted to write by this opportunity. I am, dear Sir, your affectionate, humble servant,

FRAS. OKELY.

P.S. I shall be glad to hear of your health and that of your family.
To Dr. Byrom at Manchester.

(¹) Now in the possession of Mr. Walton of Ludgate Hill, with Law's MSS.

[Endorsed.]

Received April 20, 1763, by a man from Duckinfield, when Mr. Nathaniel Philips came for Taylor's book on Original Sin, and Goad against 30th of January Sermons, which I did remember he said that Mr. Purnell lent it me.

R. Leycester to John Byrom.

Toft, 5th September 1763.

Dear Sir: My son, who told you he had taken pains to learn the Bengal way of writing, and afterwards neglected it as being troublesome and useless, has remembered what you said on the occasion and sent you what he calls a Bengal alphabet. It seems to me rather a specimen of their writing — or manner of forming words and joining syllables; but whatever it is, surely there can scarce be a worse contrivance. I wish he had added some explanation.

I have now been acquainted with your most excellent shorthand upwards of forty years, and retain for it as great an esteem as ever. It would give me the highest pleasure to see the whole scheme drawn up ready for publishing by your own masterly hand; for want of which this so elegant and useful invention will certainly come out in an imperfect manner when we are gone. I am, dear Doctor, your affectionate old friend and servant — R. LEYCESTER.

My son is gone to reside at a place called Dacca; it is twenty-four days sailing thither up the eastern branch of the Ganges, which in the narrowest places is as wide as the Thames at London, and in others such inlets open into the land that you can see none on either side; and he says that for seventeen days the land was beautifully covered with wood, but not inhabited except by wild beasts; the other seven days he saw a country well cultivated.

[The following notice of Byrom's death, which is dated from Chester, appeared in the newspapers of the time.]

CHESTER, OCTOBER 4.

"On Monday, the 26th of September [1763], died in Manchester, (his native place), John Byrom, A.M. and F.R.S. (usually styled Dr. BYROM.) This gentleman, having studied the Classicks, under the tuition of that once eminent schoolmaster, Mr. Francis Harpur of Chester, was enter'd of Trinity-College, Cambridge, where he regularly took the Degrees in Arts, with distinguished applause. Whilst at the University, he held a correspondence with many of the LITERATI of that time, and wrote several pieces, published in the *Spectators*, signed JOHN SHADOW, and was the author of that much approved Pastoral,

My Time, O ye Muses! was happily spent.

His Short-hand is allowed to be excellent. He was generally admired for his entertaining productions, and uncommon flow of genius; nor was he less esteemed on account of his humanity, extensive benevolence, and universal charity. A due exertion of these, together with truly religious sentiments, enabled him to bear a lingering illness with exemplary patience, and a thorough Christian resignation.

Non, dilecte! tui labetur pectore forma,
Non blandi mores, nec quam placida ora ferebas,
Non faciles risus, nec honesti gratia vultus,
Urbanive sales, jucundaque copia fandi;
Ah! quoties et quæ nobis arguta locutus,
Ingenio indulgens; vocesque avide auribus hausi!

At quis innatæ virtutis munera narret?
Quis tenerum in miseros pectus, mentemve benignam,
In qua verus honos, pietasque fidesque manebant?
Eheu! quando animi par invenietur imago?—DEVANUS."

Translation from the Latin Verses of Dr. Cowper⁽¹⁾ on Dr. Byrom.

No, much-loved friend! this breast can never lose
The dear remembrance of thy pleasing form,

(¹) See p. 565, Note 1 ante.

Thy gentle manners, and thy placid mein ;
 The smile of innocence, th' unstudied grace
 Of honest countenance, th' high-season'd wit,
 The copious stores of conversation sweet,
 Which to my ravish'd ears so oft supplied
 Luxurious banquet, whilst th' indulgent flow
 Of thy rich genius fill'd my thirsty mind.

But who can tell the gifts of innate worth,
 The bosom beating to the cries of woe,
 The heart of soft benignity, wherein
 True honour, piety, and faith have fix'd
 Their everlasting mansion ? Who can trace,
 Alas ! the portrait of such excellence
 In any other mortal mind but thine ?

[Another tribute to the memory of this distinguished and excellent man is to be found in a collection published by Whitworth, the Manchester printer, under the title of "The Polite Miscellany," Manchester 1764, 8vo.]

To the Memory of the late ingenious Dr. Byrom.

OF gentle manners, and of taste refin'd,
 He's gone, and only left those works behind,
 Which genius scatters round like Sybil's leaves,
 Or burns unpitying ev'n what friendship craves.

Few could so well the happy medium find,
 Where sterling wit and native humour join'd ;
 So wisely temp'ring profit and delight,
 He scarce took aim, yet seldom miss'd the white.

With pleasure we peruse the moral strain,
 Where the dumb sage⁽¹⁾ ne'er fails to entertain,
 Varying the subject each returning day,
 From labour'd to diffuse, from grave to gay.

But still acknowledg'd for auxiliar wit,
 The noblest thoughts, the freest lines he writ.

Distinguish'd here those compositions stand,
 And boast the touches of a master's hand ;

(¹) *The Spectator.*

Where *Shadow*, like a kind, good-natur'd spright,
 Beckons us on, and still eludes the sight.
 Now *Colin* ev'ry tender passion paints
 And moves all nature with his artless plaints;
 Still varied objects in succession rise,
 Till whole creation seems to sympathise.
 The landscape widens, and the tints grow warm,
 In vain — while *Phebe's* absent nought can charm!

'Tis nature's art, or else the numbers flow
 Spontaneous. But such varied strains of woe,
 Could only to the list'ning swains proclaim,
 To love and to be wretched are the same:
 Till reason and religion both impart
 Their kindly aid to fortify the heart.

For this their salutary help he sought,
 And soon discarding ev'ry trivial thought,
 Too many lines, without remorse, destroy'd,
 Which, save himself, pleas'd ev'ry judge beside;
 Convinc'd the eloquence of classic wit
 No more can be compar'd to sacred writ,
 Than art the silk-worm's toils can imitate,
 Or to the pencil'd sun give light and heat.

*Lancashire Ss. To the Constables of the Township of Manchester
 in the said County.*⁽¹⁾

Whereas it duly appears to me John Gore Booth Esquire one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county that John Byrom late of Manchester aforesaid Master of Arts and Fellow of the Royal Society deceased on the twenty-ninth day of September last was buried at Manchester aforesaid⁽²⁾ in a shirt shift sheet or

⁽¹⁾ This is rather a late instance of a conviction for contravening the requirements of the act of Charles II. for burying in woollen, since repealed. The reader will remember Pope's

"Odious! in woollen; 'twould a saint provoke!"

Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke," &c.

⁽²⁾ He was interred in the Byrom Chapel of the Collegiate Church, now the Cathedral, of Manchester.

shroud not made of sheep's wool contrary to the form of the statute in such case made. These are therefore to command you and every of you forthwith to levy the sum of five pounds by distress and sale of the goods and chattels which he the said John Byrom had at the time of his death rendering the overplus (if any be) to the executors or administrators of the said John Byrom your reasonable charges being first deducted: one moiety of which said sum of five pounds you shall pay to the overseers of the poor of the said township of Manchester for the use of the poor of the same township and the other moiety to Samuel Turner of Manchester aforesaid gentleman who informed me of the said offence and did sue for the said forfeiture. Herein fail you not. Given under my hand and seal at Salford in the county aforesaid the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty three.

JOHN GORE BOOTH.

[We have thus traced, from undeniable materials, the life of this great and good man to its close. The minuteness of the narrative, during its active portion, is unrivalled, and exhibits him, in his habit as he lived, in a way to produce unwonted subjects of reflexion to the thoughtful. Who but Byrom was ever so "turned inside out," and who but he could so bear the operation! A great man has passed before us, as from the grave, and "JOHN SHADOW" is from henceforth a substantial reality!]

END OF VOL. II.

THE
BYROM PEDIGREES.

I.—BYROM OF BYROM.

II.—BYROM OF SALFORD.

III.—BYROM OF MANCHESTER.

WITH
ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES,

BY THE
REV. F. R. RAINES, M.A., F.S.A.

INTRODUCTION TO NOTES.

BYROM, a small reputed manor in the township of Lowton in the Saxon parish of Winwick, was held "as of the Baron of Newton-in-Makerfield," and became the residence of a family bearing the local name, the first notice of which occurs in the time of *Edward II.*, when HENRY DE BUY-ROUM takes his rank as an attestor amongst the chief feudal proprietors in his own immediate neighbourhood. The orthography of the name has not, with this first exception, been fluctuating or precarious, and in this instance may possibly be attributed to the ignorance of the scribe, or, more probably, was spelt as it is pronounced in the vernacular of North Lancashire.

The parent house did not appear at any of the Lancashire Heraldic Visitations, except the last, when a pedigree of a few descents was recorded, and the ancient arms allowed. These arms had been confirmed, with a difference, to the Byroms of Salford by Sir Richard St. George in 1613, and had been used by that branch of the family as early as 1558, so that it is obvious the origin and right of their coat armour was long antecedent to the seventeenth century. The charge of the coat—*arg. a chev. between three hedgehogs sable*—does not identify them with any particular family of distinction, nor indicate their dependance on any feudal house. It is not improbable that the hedgehog was chosen as an heraldic device to imply that the individual bearing it was armed at all points (*armé de toutes pieces*), always on the alert and yet an enemy to no one. See, however, Dr. Byrom's ingenious conjectures in his excellent poem "on his coat of arms." In 1724 this distinguished member of the family being at the Heralds' College in London, was informed by "Mr. Green, who was then in waiting, that these arms were never given, but were so old as to be taken up, and that he believed I might meet with the name of Byrom in *Domesday Book*."—Byrom's *Rem.* vol. i. part i. p. 102. Mr. Green appears to have mistaken Byron for Byrom. The motto used by the South Lancashire branches of the family was *Frustra per plura*. — *Ibid.* p. 78.

Notwithstanding their remote antiquity, extensive territorial possessions, and respectable alliances for many generations, the chief members of the parent house did not at any time fill the higher offices in the county which usually fall to the lot of country gentlemen. They were not returned by any of the local constituencies as Members of Parliament, neither were they High Sheriffs, nor, it is believed, very frequently in the commission of the peace. It is not easy to account for the omission of these local honours in such a family through so long a period, except it may be attributed to the heads of the house, generation after generation, having died in early life. After the accession of Elizabeth the family appear to have been, and to have continued, consistent in their adherence to the Church of England, and devoted in their loyalty to the Crown.

The annexed pedigree is neither copious nor perfect in its earlier details. Collaterals have been rarely met with, nor are the first five generations sufficiently authenticated to admit of being given in lineal descent, although the names occur in charters, and their respective lines are supported by a careful calculation of dates. The succeeding descents, with one exception (the one in question being the ninth), are probably given with accuracy by one of the Randle Holmes, and there is no reason to doubt that Thomas was the father of Henry and John Byrom, and it may be of other children, in the early part of the sixteenth century.

NOTES TO THE PEDIGREE OF BYROM OF BYROM.

I. HENRY DE BUYROUM attests, along with Gilbert de Sothworth, Gilbert de Haydok, Adam de Kenyon, John de la Heye and others, a grant of two acres of land, by Elias son of Robert del Brouk [Brook] of Goldborne, to Richard his son. Dated at Goldborne die dominica proximo post festum S'ci Andree Apostoli A° regni regis Edwardi fil. Regis Edwardi decimo nono (1325). — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxviii. p. 397.

II. THOMAS DE BYROM held lands in the manor of Warrington (adjoining Winwick), and owed suit and service, with a great number of other feudal tenants, to John de Haydok and Joanna his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas de Dutton, the names of which tenants, their suits and services, are detailed in an elaborate deed dated at Weryngton on Monday next after the feast of St. Peter, in Cathedra anno r. r. Edwardi t'cii quinquagesimo a conquestu (1376). — *Ib.* p. 81.

III. SYMONE DE BYROM attests, along with Wm. de Atherton, Thomas Gerard, John de Haydock, Matthew de Kenyon and others, a conveyance of all the lands, tenements, rents and services in the ville of Haydock, of Wm. de Holand of Cayley, to John le Perpound [Pierpoint] and John Page, Chaplains. Dated at Haydok on Wednesday next after the feast of the Nativity of B. Marie the Virgin, 7 Richard II. (A° 1383). — *Ib.* p. 57.

Simon de Byrom attests at Newton-in-Makerfield on Sunday next before the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr, 1 Henry IV. (1400). — *Ib.* p. 161.

IV. THOMAS DE BYROM attests in Goldeburne and Newton-in-Makerfield, along with Henry de Langton, Hugh de Newton, Gilbert de Adburg²,

Richard de Tyldeslegh, John de Adburgham, and Thomas de Holcroft.
Dat. ante festum Circumcis⁹ D'ni. 2 Henry V. (1414.)

Thomas de Byrom attests, along with Ralph Langton Baron of Newton, Henry de Kyghley, John de Holcroft and Nichol de Rysley, a Deed of Entail of lands at Newton-in Makerfield. Dated Newton, on Friday next before the feast of Pentecost, 1 Henry VI. (1422-3). — *Ib.* p. 163.

V. HENRY DE BYROM attests, along with John de Howecrofte, Thurstan de Byrom, Henry Arowsmyth, Richard de Byrom and others, the conveyance by Thurstan de Tyldesley to Simon Pierpoint of all the messuages, lands and tenements, which he had of the gift of Master Richard Stanley Archdeacon of Chester, within Golborne and Newton-in-Makerfield. Dated at Newton on Sunday in the feast of S. Andrew the Apostle, 11 Henry VI. (1432). — *Ib.* p. 163.

Ralph de Prestwich conveyed the manor of Prestwich to Henry de Byrom 12 Henry VI., who in the 17th Henry VI. reconveyed it to the said Ralph Prestwich. — *Baines's Hist. Lanc.* vol. iii. p. 352.

Henry de Byrom and Thomas Byrom clerk, his brother, attest in Golborne on the feast of St. Oswald, 13 Henry VI. (1434.) — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxviii. p. 403.

The latter is probably the "Dom. Thoma Byrom" who was an attesting witness of the Will of Wm. Booth Archbishop of York, dated Southwell, 26th Aug. 1464, as were also Wm. Worsley (Prebendary of Southwell and York, afterwards Archdeacon of Notts 1476, and Dean of St. Paul's), Wm. Brande (Prebendary of York, and Domestic Chaplain to the Archbishop), and Sir John Averell Cap., who attested along with Ralph Radcliffe Esq. and Gervase Clifton Esq., all of them, probably, like the Archbishop, Lancastrians by birth, and connected with his Grace by family as well as official ties. Byrom was an ecclesiastic, Prebendary of Lichfield 1450, resigned 1466, and Archdeacon of Notts 1461, and died possessed of that dignity in 1476.

VI. JOHN BYROM OF BYROM Esq. attests a grant of Edmund Latham to Sir Peter Legh Knt. at Fernyhead in Wolston, along with "Thomas Lord Stanley Knt.," Richard Kyghly, Christopher Southworth, and John Radclyffe Esquyres. Dated 10th June, 7 Edward IV. *Ib.* p. 435. His name frequently occurs between 1456 and 1467, and he stands the first of his family in a pedigree of three descents in *Harl. MS.* 1925, fo. 97.

VII. HENRY BYROM OF BYROM Esq., son and heir of John Byrom. *Harl. MS.* 1925, fo. 97. Also styled "son and heir apparent," 10th June 6 Edward IV. He added largely to his patrimonial estate by marriage with the daughter and coheiress of Gilbert Alburgham, whose grandmother was the coheiress of the Boydells of Doddleston in Cheshire. See Beamont's *Warrington in 1464*, p. 88, *Note*, for an interesting narrative of his joint claim in right of his wife to a ferry across the Mersey from Warrington to Latchford. His wife's sister, Isabella, was the wife of James Holte of Grislehurst in the parish of Middleton (*Lanc. Visit.* 1613), and his descendant in the seventh generation married Winifred, daughter of Francis Holte Esq., also lineally descended from the Alburghams and Boydells. In 1503 he presented to the Rectory of Grappenhall. — *Gastrell's Not. Cest.* vol. i. p. 334.

Sept. 14, 1499, 15 Henry VII., Sir Thomas Stanley Knt. Earl of Derby released to Henry Byrom of Byrom Esq. and Constantia his wife, and to James Holte of Grystylehurst and Isabella his wife, all the messuages, lands, &c. in Hanley, Leicheford, Runjea, Stopport, and Stoke, with a ferry across the Mersey between Runcorn and Chelwell, of which he, along with James Langton clerk deceased, was enfeofed by John Abraham and Isabella his wife, to hold to the said Henry and Constantia, James and Isabella, and the heirs of Constantia and Isabella. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. ix. p. 277.

VIII. JOHN BYROM OF BYROM Esq., son and heir of Henry Byrom. *Harl. MS.* 1925, fo. 97. He occurs, along with his four sisters, in a deed of Henry Byrom dated 4th July, 21 Henry VII. It is not improbable that there were other children, from one of whom the Byroms of Salford descended, but there has been no evidence discovered to establish the conjecture.

IX. THOMAS BYROM OF BYROM Esq., is presumed to have been the son of John Byrom. He is mentioned in the Will of his brother-in-law, Richard Starky of Stretton Esq., dated May 29th 1526, and was at that time dead. See Piccope's *Wills and Inventories*, Chetham Society. His name occurs in the pedigree of Leyland of Morleys.

X. HENRY BYROM OF BYROM Esq., married twice, and is presumed to

have been the son, as he was the successor, of Thomas Byrom. — *Harl. MS.* 2042, fo. 285; *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xiv. p. 129.

Henry Byrom of Byrom Esq. granted by deed dated 1555, to Gilbert Gerard of Gray's Inn jun. Esq., the next presentation of the Rectory of Grappenhall in the county of Chester. — *Bp. Bird's Register*.

1. THOMAS BYROM OF BYROM Esq., his son and heir by his first marriage (*Harl. MS.* 2042, fo. 285), made his Will 1st December 1559. He gave his soul to our Lady St. Marie and all the holy company of saints in heaven, and his body to be buried in the parish church yard of Wynwick, "nere to the place where my father lyeth buried, whose sowle God pardon." He gave "towards repairing and mending" the parish church of Wynwick v^s, a legacy to his sister Margaret Aston, and all his personalty to his wife Mary, whom he appointed executrix, his brother John Byrom gent. and others being present. Proved at Chester. — *Lanc. MSS. Wills*.

XI. JOHN BYROM OF BYROM Esq., son of Henry Byrom (*Harl. MS.* 2042, fo. 285), heir of his brother Thomas in 1559. He exercised his right as patron of the Rectory of Grappenhall in Cheshire in 1582. — *Bp. Chaderton's Inst. Book*, p. 7.

In 1584 he was one of the Lancashire magistrates associated with the gentlemen of the county to defend Queen Elizabeth against popish plots. *Baines's Hist. Lanc.* vol. i. p. 551. His post mortem inquisition was taken 36 Elizabeth (1593,) and he died seized of the manor of Byrom, and lands, messuages, mills, tenements, &c., at Byrom, Lowton, West Leigh, Pennington, Bedford, Warrington, Parr, Golborne, Abraham, Hindley, and Sutton, in Lancashire, and Henry Byrom is his son and heir. — *Inq. in Duchy of Lanc. Office*, vol. xvi. p. 37.

He was probably the father of "William Byrom of Byrom Esq." (born about 1565), who appears the first on the face of a pedigree, recorded at the Visitation of the county of Derby in 1662, when the arms of Byrom of Byrom were confirmed, the chevron being charged with three plates. William Byrom had two sons, (1) William, "a Major in the service of King Charles I., and slain in Kineton battle October 23rd 1642;" and (2) John Byrom of Hulland in the county of Derby, who married Dorothy, daughter of William Parker of Peirwich in the same county, and died in January 1658, having had issue (1) John, who died in Virginia s.p.; (2) Alice, wife of Edward Wallys of Chesterton in the county of Derby; and (3) George Byrom of Ashburne Green in the county of Derby, æt. 46 in 1662, and who, by his wife Katharine, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Hurt of

Ashburne Green, had (1) George Byrom æt. 11, anno 1662; (2) Thomas, and (3) Katharine. — *Inf. of Thos. W. King Esq. York Herald.*

It is not improbable also that John Byrom of Byrom Esq. was the father of John Byrom gent. "a younger son of — Byrom of Byrom in the county of Lancaster." He lived at Doddleston, near Chester, "married an heiress of a better family," as he used to say, "than his own" (her name is omitted), and died 14th May 1648, æt. 84. His eldest son, Thomas Byrom, married Susanna, daughter of William Wrenalls (Reynolds?) eldest son of a good family in Lancashire, disinherited because a Protestant, a messenger to Queen Elizabeth, and who had married — Arnall of Parson Green and Earl's Court. She had twelve elder sisters and one brother, William, married. Thomas Byrom had a son, Thomas, who lived in Lancashire, married, and had issue also a son, Thomas, who ob. s.p. and a daughter, Mary, the wife of Mr. Thomas Lolburn of the county of Wilts. — *Bigland's Private MS. Collections in Coll. Arms. — Ibid.*

XII. HENRY BYROM OF BYROM Esq., son and heir of John Byrom, "aged 30 years," 36 Elizabeth (born about 1563). "Henry Byrom gent.," was buried at Winwick 16th April 1613, aged about 50. *Winwick Register.* His inquisition was taken 11 James I. (1614), and he died seized of the manor of Parr, and of messuages, tenements, mills, lands, commons, rents, &c., in Parr, Golborne, Pennington, Hindley, Byrom, Lowton, Sutton, Windle, Aburgham alias Abraham, and Westleighe, in Lancashire, and John Byrom is his son and heir. — *Inq. in Duchy of Lanc. Office*, vol. xxi. p. 53.

1. ATHERTON BYROM, the third son of Henry Byrom and Katherine Gerard, succeeded to lands at Lowton in the parish of Winwick, and had a son John Byrom living in 1664 at Dugdale's Visitation. His marriage and issue have not been discovered, but on the 9th February 1703-4 a marriage license was granted at Chester to John Worsley of Lowton in the parish of Winwick, yeoman, and Margaret Byrom of the same place, widow. And on the 28th August 1728, administration of the goods of "Henry Byrom late of Lowton Esq. who died in Flanders," administered formerly by Margaret Worsley, alias Byrom, his mother, deceased, was then granted by the Consistory Court of Chester to Henry Byrom, nephew of the deceased, being his brother's son. These are supposed to be the descendants of Atherton Byrom.

XIII. JOHN BYROM OF BYROM Esq., succeeded his father and died in the following year. His post mortem inquisition was taken in the same year with his father's, 11 James (1614), and he died seized of messuages, tene-

ments, lands, commons, mills, &c., at Byrom, Parr, Westleigh, Pennington, Golborne, Hyndley, &c., in the county of Lancaster, and Henry Byrom is his son and heir. — *Ibid.*

XIV. HENRY BYROM OF BYROM Esq. succeeded his father in 1614, being a minor. On the 22nd December 1613, at the early age of five years he was betrothed to Margaret the sixth child of Sir Thomas Ireland of Bewsey Knt., by Margaret Aston of Aston, his second wife, the marriage licence being dated Chester, 20th December 1613. *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 81. She was born at Bewsey 11th April, 1604, and at nine years of age was the betrothed wife of Henry Byrom of Byrom gentleman. The marriage took place at Bewsey, and is recorded in the Parish Register of Warrington, and full particulars of it have been left by Sir Thomas Ireland himself. The contract was afterwards annulled, for she became the wife of John Jeffreys, and by him was the mother of the too celebrated Judge Jeffreys. She died at Bewsey 9th May 1661, and was buried at Warrington. (Inf. Wm. Beamont Esq.) Henry Byrom was afterwards twice married, embraced a military life, supported the cause of Charles I. and fell, like his kinsman Major William Byrom, at the battle of Keynton in 1642, aged about 34.

XV. SAMUEL BYROM OF BYROM Esq., heir of his elder brothers. He was baptized at Winwick 31st August 1634, and died before 1686. His widow died in 16—, whilst her children were still minors, and they having chosen their aunt Venables of Agden their guardian, the Court of Chester confirmed their choice. *Chester Records.* In 1670 he sold the Advowson of the Rectory of Grappenhall. Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*

XVI. JOHN BYROM OF BYROM Esq. succeeded his father. He was admitted a member of the Honourable Society of Gray's Inn 17th June 1676. *Harl. MS.* 1912. On the 9th June 1686 "John Byrom of Byrom Esq. as nephew and administrator of James Byrom of Byrom Esq. deceased," was bound to make an inventory of the goods of the defunct, apparently left unadministered by his father. *Chester Records.* In 1687 he waited upon Bishop Cartwright with his uncles Venables, and seems to have recovered the advowson of St. Helen's in Prescott from the Presbyterians. — Cartwright's *Diary*, p. 77; Gastrell's *Not. Cest.* vol. ii. part ii. pp. 207, 208. At this time Mr. Byrom resided at Parr Hall in Prescott, which had long been a seat of his family. He married about 1682 (marriage covenant

dated 12th February 1682) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Otway of Ingmere Hall Knt. by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of John Braithwaite Esq. and niece and heiress of Thomas Braithwaite of Ambleside Esq. Sir John was a memorable individual, and acted a conspicuous part in the stirring commotions of his times. He was born at Beckside Hall in Middleton in the county of Westmoreland, elected a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1635, from which he was ejected by the Duke of Newcastle in 1643; and afterwards became one of the Readers of Gray's Inn. He was greatly instrumental in bringing over to the royal cause two officers who commanded each a regiment under Cromwell, viz. Colonel Redmayn who married his (Otway's) sister, and Colonel Clobery who married his wife's sister. On King Charles the Second's return he was knighted and made a Privy Councillor, appointed Vice-chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Chancellor of the County Palatine of Durham. He acquired a considerable estate and settled at Ingmere Hall, adjoining his paternal property, but situate on the edge of Yorkshire in the vale of Sedbergh, in which church he was buried, having died 15th October 1693 in his 74th year. — See Nicolson and Burn's *Hist. of Westmoreland and Cumberland*, vol. i. p. 259.

In the will of Thomas Braithwaite of Ambleside Esq. dated 9th November 1674, the testator names the lands, &c. he lately purchased at Furnis Fell of James Braithwaite, and other lands which he had purchased at Hauxhead, which he devises to his brother Robert Braithwaite, but adds, "if my niece Lady Elizabeth Otway pay him £700 within a year, they shall then pass to her, £250 of the said £700 to be for the maintenance of two scholars at St. John's College, Cambridge, going from the schools of Hauxhead and Kendal." "To my niece the Lady Otway the Bible which my cozen Preston of Holker gave to my father with my cozen George Preston's and my unkell Thomas Braithwaite their pictures therein, and allsoe the pictures of them the said Mr. Preston and my said unkell Thomas, charging my said niece as my father charged me, to have a speciall care of them. I also give unto her £10 to bestow on a piece of plate with my coat of arms on it. To her son Braithwaite Otway and her three daughters each a gold ring. And I give to the said Braithwaite Otway the picture of 'the Creation,' and 'the Sweet Counter,' in the parlour, to be kept as heir looms to my house." — *MS. Extract from the original at York, by the Rev. James Raine, jun. of Durham.*

Mrs. Byrom and her mother the "Lady Elizabeth Otway," were the executors of John Byrom of Byrom and Parr Esq. and proved his will at Chester in 1696. Of Mr. Byrom's six children, three only survived to maturity. His widow married secondly Robert Hedges of Chester Esq. who was a relative of Sir Charles Hedges M.P. Secretary of State to King William III. and Queen Anne, and whose son John Hedges Esq. was Treasurer to George Prince of Wales (son of George II.). She married thirdly Mr. — Hamilton of Chester.

By indenture of feoffment dated 7th October 1695, John Byrom of Parr Hall Esq. conveyed to Thomas Bate of Parr yeoman, all his manors, messuages, &c. of Parr, Byrom, Westleigh, Abram alias Aburgham, Hindley, Sutton, Windle, and Goldborne, in trust; and on the 17th of the same month, the lands were conveyed by the said Bate to Henry Byrom of Lowton gent. John Worsley of Lowton gent. Peter Corlesse and Richard Gerard, who were bound for the said John Byrom in £1,000 to Richard Wells of Wigan gent. which Samuel Byrom, the son, afterwards discharged on succeeding to the estate.

XVII. SAMUEL BYROM OF BYROM AND PARR Esq. only son and heir of John Byrom, was born about 1685, and on the 26th February 1706, having then attained his majority, executed a deed of settlement of his large estates, owing to "differences having arisen between himself," his mother Mrs. Hedges, his grandmother Lady Otway, and his two sisters, regarding his father's marriage settlement, and all the parties interested having secured their respective rights, levied a fine, and the manor and lands were conveyed to Samuel Byrom Esq. in fee. From this time, if not before, the fate of his inheritance was sealed, and year after year his necessities were met, first by mortgages, and afterwards, as might easily have been foreseen, by the absolute sale of his lands. At length the ancient manor of Byrom was sold, and evidently sold without a struggle or a sigh. On the 4th July 1710, he wrote to his worthy and prudent kinsman Mr. Joseph Byrom of Manchester, who had for some time been negotiating for the purchase of "the Royalty, Manor, and Demesne of Byrom":—"I am surprized that you should make so many objections without any colour or pretence; for I have sold ten times the value of what you pretend to buy; and if your objections should hold good, then they that have bought run greater risques than Mr. Starkie, Mr. Comberbach, and other eminent counsel ought to have per-

mitted. Lady Otway offered to lend me money upon the estate if I wanted it, but I have occasion for none but to put in the lottery, and if I sell Byrom I'll have it for that purpose." The Rev. George Warde, apparently Vicar of Leigh, an acute man in valuing property, was employed by the Manchester Byrom, and had so bad an opinion of Mr. Tatlock of Prescott (the agent of the vendor, and an attorney) that he said, — "I would rather deal with *Boe* Byrom than with Tatlock; believe him no further than you know to be true, for he will lye for lying's sake, much more for interest!" Mr. George Pigot, Mr. Langton, Mr. Starkie, and others, after three years of doubt and deliberation, decided that "the Bo" might alienate the estate and transfer incumbrances to other property, and on the 10th July 1710, Joseph Byrom of Manchester, the opulent tradesman, became "of Byrom," and in his excellent descendant these lands, "not of yesterday," are still vested.

"The Beau" published "An Irrefragable Argument, fully proving that to discharge Great Debts is less injury and more reasonable than to discharge Small Debts. Humbly offered to the Legislature." By Samuel Byrom, late of Byrom and Par in the County Palatine of Lancaster Esq. and now a Prisoner within the walls of the *Fleet Prison*, London.

Whoever reads this Book in it will find
Reasons to move the Sov'reignty to be kind
And free the Prisoners from a troubled mind,
That Gaolers may no more our Bodies grind.

Mori minutim in carcere, tormentum est quo Siculi tyranni non invenerunt acerbius.

London :

Printed for the benefit of the Author 1729.

[Price One Shilling, pp. 28.]

The pamphlet (a copy of which is in the library of the President of the Chetham Society) is dated from the Fleet Prison, April 1 (a very appropriate day), 1729, and is dedicated, apparently without permission, to his Grace, Lionel Cranfield Sackville, Duke of Dorset K.G. The writer states that when at Westminster school he boarded for many years in the same house, at Dr. Knipe's, with his Grace, whose sweetness of temper and excellency of parts made him the love and admiration of all his school-fellows. At that time Byrom further names that he had a competent estate in Lancashire; but by being ill introduced into the world, and soon falling into the hands of sharpers and gamesters (the very bane and ruin

of many young gentlemen when they first come from the University) his estate was diminished, and, what was more valuable, his reputation was lost. Reduced to penury and want, abandoned by his relations, and slighted by those who had obtained his property, he fell a victim, through inexperience and unguarded behaviour, to usury, villainy and malice; and being deceived by an attorney, was tricked into a prison where he must inevitably have perished had he not been repeatedly relieved by the Duke of Dorset. He says — “It would be more feasible for me to wash a blackmoor white than to pay my debts; and must I be starved to death and kept in prison for no other reason but because I am a gentleman and had once an estate, when an insignificant fellow shall have his liberty who has done more real injury by his small debts than I have done by my great debts? for what he owes is to poor families that he has ruined, but what I owe is to the rich who, perchance, have defrauded me and drawn me into inconveniences. O horrid and monstrous!” He dwelt much on his “quality and education,” and felt the sting of an “honest gentleman” reduced to poverty; but concluded by expressing a hope that the proposed Act of Insolvency might compel creditors to allow debtors a weekly maintenance suitable to their rank and quality, adding —

“Spes bona dat vires, animum quoque spes bona servat,

Vivere spe vidi, qui moriturus erat.

Dum spiro spero.”

In June 1735, Dr. Byrom was interesting himself on behalf of “Beau Byrom,” who had at that time left the *Fleet*, but his first cousin Mr. Upton and his sister Miss Byrom of Chester would do nothing for him. — *Remains*, vol. i. part ii. p. 614. He did not relish going to Parr, according to his kind friend’s suggestion, (p. 621), and in April 1736 was still in London, and had daringly “stopped the Prince,” (vol. ii. part. i. p. 31,) evidently to present some petition on his imaginary wrongs. In August of the same year Dr. Byrom wrote to Mrs. Goulburn of Chester a touching letter on his destitution, even observing, “I was in frequent apprehension of his perishing in the streets of London.” — (*Ib.* p. 62.) His mother and his aunt Mrs. Otway occasionally relieved his wants; but all was in vain, and even the liberal and noble minded man, on whose bounty he had no direct claim, but who seems to have allowed him a pension, and whose conduct to this unhappy spendthrift is amongst the many bright and beautiful traits in his character, at length confessed, February 13th 1739, “I wish I could

NOTES TO THE PEDIGREE OF BYROM OF SALFORD.

I. "RAUFE BYROM OF SAULFORDE in com. Lanc." appears in the *Lanc. Visit.* 1613 as "the second son to — Byrom of Byrom" in the parish of Winwick. His wife was Alice, daughter of — Starky of Pennington in the parish of Leigh in the county of Lancaster, descended from Ralph or Randal Starky, son of Thomas Starky of Stretton in the county of Chester, living 40 Edward III. (1366), which Ralph married Agnes, daughter of Hugh de Pennington 40 Edward III. — *Harl. MS.* 1535, fo. 247. Hollingworth, the Manchester antiquary, observes, in the middle of the seventeenth century —

"One writeth that about anno 1120 (a mistake for 1520, about 12. H. VIII.) there were three famous clothiers living in the north countrey viz. Cutbert of Kendal, Hodgkins of Halifax, and Martin Brian, some say Byrom of Manchester. Every one of these kept a greate number of servants at worke, spinners, carders, weavers, fullers, dyers, shearemen, &c., to the greate admiration of all that came into their houses to beehould them: he sayeth also that the said Martin gave much money towards the building of a free schoole in Manchester, which, if true, the money was lost, or some way or other alienated, which in time of the civill warres might easily be done (for noe free school was built of about 400 yeares after); but that Manchester, as well as Kendal and Halifax, was a greate cloathing towne then it is more than probable." — *Mancuniensis; or, an History of the Towne of Manchester*, p. 28.

Hollingworth had the sagacity to perceive the erroneous statement of his author, whoever he might be (and the conjecture of the learned President of the Chetham Society, that the Manchester antiquary refers to some obscure "ballad monger" or minstrel poet, whose traditional information was not historically accurate, is far from being improbable) and corrected the

date, which had assigned the twelfth century as an era of the woollen trade in the north of England. With more probability he fixed its flourishing condition in the north in the reign of Henry VIII., although Camden considered that this trade was first known here towards the end of that reign or the beginning of the next.—*Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 852. It is, however, well ascertained that in the latter part of the fifteenth and in the early part of the sixteenth century Manchester had become considerable for its trade; and amongst the great mercantile families settled there, were the Galleys and Beckes, the Pendletons and Shalcrosses, the Beswickes and Byroms, who were clothiers, fullers, and woollen manufacturers.

The names given by Hollingworth's authority are probably all fictitious, as I believe no such individuals are known to have existed at Kendal, Halifax or Manchester at either of the periods referred to by Hollingworth. At the latter period the Bindlosses of Kendal, the Waterhouses of Halifax, and the Byroms of Salford, were the principal families engaged in those places in the woollen trade, and it appears that at least one member of the last mentioned family was an importer of iron, and probably exported other merchandise. Nor was it until the concluding part of the reign of Henry VII. that a younger son of Byrom of Byrom settled in Salford, embarked in commerce, and laid the foundation not only of a family which has continued to the present time, but also materially contributed to lay the foundation of the commercial greatness of Manchester and Salford.

The Grammar School, built and endowed in 1510 by Bishop Oldham and his kinsfolk the Beswickes, is not known to have received any settled benefactions from the early Byroms.

The will of Raufe Byrom has not been found, but that of his widow proves that the family had acquired considerable wealth. It is dated 26th January 1523-4, and she describes herself as "Alice late wyffe of Rauffe Byrome of Salforthe," and desires to be buried in the Collegiate Church of Manchester. She gives various property to her sons Adam, Sir Robert, Rauffe, and Thomas Byrom, and appoints the two first her executors, and bequeaths legacies to Elynor, Agnes and Margaret her daughters, and also to John, Adam, and Rauffe, sons of William Browne, and to Nycolesse Pilkington, requesting "Maister Thurstayn Tyldesley and Maister George Trafford" to be overseers. No date of probate.

II. "ADAM BYROM OF SAULFORDE," son and heir of Rauffe, is styled in his will "merchaunt," and his mercantile transactions appear to have been

extensive and successful, as he added considerably to his paternal estate, and had evidently lived in great reputation. He was the largest merchant in the hundred of Salford (with one exception), and was assessed at "cxx^{li} in goods" by the Commissioners of the subsidy granted to Henry VIII. by Parliament in 1540, whilst Sir Alexander Radclyffe Knt. of Ordsall was only assessed at c^{li} "in lands," and the general average of the assessments was xx^{li}. — *Lanc. MSS.*

On the 20th December 1536 Adam Pendylton (son of William Pendylton of Salford deceased) and Elena his wife (probably daughter of Raufe Byrom of Salford) quit claim to Adam Byrom of Salford, Robert Byrom of the same, clerk, and William Wylde and their heirs (being in their full and peaceable possession) all right in a burgage, &c., lying within the town of Salford between the lands of Richard Brereton Knt. and Johanna his wife on the E. and le Bothez of Salford on the W. and lands of the said Richard Brereton and Joan on the N. and the highway on the S., — to the use of said Adam Byrom and his heirs for ever.

And the same Adam and Elena Pendylton also quit claim to the said Adam Byrom, Robert Byrom, clerk, and William Wylde, all their right in another burgage or two tenements and two gardens in Salford between lands of the said Adam Byrom on the E. and lands of John — on the W. which burgage is in the separate farm tenures of Roger Heye, and of Adam Pendylton, son of John Pendylton deceased; and which said burgage land and tenements and the rest of the premises belonged to Cecily fforst⁹, widow, deceased. 20 Dec. 28 H. VIII. — *Hopwood Evid. Lanc. MSS.*, vol. xxxvii. p. 353.

By deed dated 22nd February 31 Henry VIII. Sir Alexander Radcliffe Knt. conveys to Adam Byrom, of Salford, merchaunt, and his heirs, for xli^{li}, messuages, burgages and lands in the towne and feyldes of Salforde which Sir Alexander purchased of Anthony Lache by indenture dated 20th October 21 Henry VIII. and which formerly belonged to William Mercer, grandfather of the said Anthony.

By another deed dated 16th August 32 Henry VIII. Andrew Barton of Smythells Esquyer and Agnes his wife convey by sale (for lvi^{li}) to Adam Byrom of Salford merchant and his heirs, "oon cheife messuage called Salforde Hall, with all lands, gardyns, ortchyards," &c. to the same belonging, and iv^s of rent issuing out of a messuage and lands which the said Adam Byrom hath "and now dwelleth in within Salford." — *Radcliffe Evid. Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxiv. p. 35. In the 12 Edward III. this "cheife messuage" was

the property of William the son of Thomas de Salford (*ib.* p. 13), and in 34 Henry VI. Edmund ffarington Rector of Halsall and another confirmed to Edmund Radclyffe and Elizabeth his wife, "Manerium de Salforth vocatur Salforth-hall cum pertinentiis suis in vill. de Salforth." — *Ib.* p. 22.

In the 33 Henry VIII. William Bolton and Adam Byrom, tenants of Salforth, prosecuted in the Duchy Court of Lancaster, William Arram, Mayor of Preston, on a claim of exemption from tolls, piccage, and lastage, at the fairs and markets of Salforth and Preston. — *Cal. Plead.* Like his third son Adam, he appears to have had strong feelings on the subject of free trade, and to have been an enemy of feudal monopolies, corporate or sole.

On the 24th November 1557, Thomas Holcroft of Vale Royal in the county of Chester Knt. recites that the Lady Johanna Brereton widow, and Geoffrey Brereton Esq. her son and heir apparent, by an indenture between themselves on the one part and him the said Sir Thomas Holcroft and Adam Byrom of Salford, merchant, on the other part, sold to them (the said Sir Thomas and Adam) all the messuages, lands, tenements, reversions, fines, hereditaments &c. lying in Manchester and Salford, then or late in the several tenures of the said Adam Byrom, Richard Birchynshoe, Adam Massye, Katherine Walker, and Amerie Langley, widow; and also other lands and tenements in Manchester and Salford, by virtue of which the said Holcroft and Byrom were seized of the premises in fee, and by this deed Holcroft conveys by sale his moiety of the premises to the said Adam Byrom and his heirs in fee. — *Hopwood Evid.*

Adam Byrom the elder, of Salford, merchant, made his will on the 3rd of May 1556, and it may be inferred that he was of a liberal and generous disposition, for after giving and bequeathing his soul to Almighty God, beseeching of Ladie Saint Marie and all the holy company of heaven to pray for him, and directing his body to be buried in the parish church of Manchester before the rood near his father and mother, he gave to the churchwardens towards the church works there and for his burial xl^s, and afterwards devised property to his eldest son George Byrom, to his son Henry Byrom, to his youngest son Adam Byrom, a minor, and to his three daughters, Isabel, Margaret, and Anne Byrom, who are described as minors. George and Henry are appointed executors, and guardians of the daughters; Adam Byrom the youngest son and Raffe Browne are constituted supervisors, and his "lovinge frends" Lawrence Asshawe gent., Alexander Rigbie and Robert Shawe are requested to assist in executing the will according to the special trust

and confidence reposed in them by the testator; proved at Chester. — Piccope's *Wills and Inventories*, p. 44. No wife is named, but the issue is stated in the Visitation of 1613 to be from the second marriage.

He held in demesne as of fee lands and tenements in Salford, and eight messuages, a moiety of two fulling mills, two hundred acres of land, and 4½d. rent in Parva Leyvre holding the lands in Leyvre from the executor of the will of Lord de la Warre deceased in socage by fealty and render of 1s. 6d. Value £6 16. 7d. Also a burgage in Manchester and tenements in Ardwick and Bolton le Moors. He died between ten and twelve o'clock p.m. July 25, 1558, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary. Inq. post mort. taken at Bolton le Moors March 17, 1 Eliz. 1558-9. — *Inquisitions in Duch. Lanc. Office*, vol. xi. p. 64. At the "Port Mot⁹" held at Salford, before Sir Richard Molyneux, seneschall there, on Thursday 30th March 1559, the jury present "Adam Byrom to be dep'tyd syns the last Court day, and that Rauffe Byrom, son of George Byrom, of th'age of three yeares and upward, is heyre unto the aforesayd Adam, and for hys relief doth paye as ys accustomed." — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 389, *the original in the possession of Stephen Heelis Esq., Mayor of Salford 1857.*

1. HENRY BYROM, second son of Adam. (See *Pedigree of Byrom of Manchester.*)

2. ADAM BYROM, third son of Adam Byrom, merchant, a minor in 1556, but of age in 1561, and named in the will of his brother George Byrom, July 22, 1558. At the Salford "Port Mot." 30th March 1559, the jury presented that Rychard Gybbason being seized of a tenement, garden and orchard in Salford, had sold the same to Adam Byrom, "by means whereof the Jurye doe p'sent and brynge in y^e aforesayd Adam to be a *Burges*." — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 389. He married Ciceley, daughter of Thomas Becke of Manchester, who was a legatee of her brother Robert Becke, 17 December 1556, and then unmarried. He followed commercial pursuits in Salford, and had mercantile transactions with foreign countries, as appears by the following extract from the Records of the Liverpool Corporation in 1561: — "In the whils this sayd enterprise was in hand,⁽¹⁾ Adam Byrom, of Salford, made his earnest labo^r aswel to S^r Richard Molineux, M^r Will^m Molineux, Esqer, as to the Right honorable o^r good L. the Erle of Darbie, to have his xx tonnes Iron that came in wth Thomas Roo & Christopher Crosse, from Hispayne, as is afore herein registred, carried awaye to Weryngton, by Land & by Water, where in his sue^{ts} & earnest labo^r he dyd nothyng p^rvayle, & was glad to agre wth the Towne for licence to carie his sayd wars awaye, & upon suche consente & agrement he payd to M^r Mayre v holle sovereigns of gold w^{ch} is currant x^s a

⁽¹⁾ This seems to refer to the making of a new haven, which had been determined upon by the town on the 9th November 1561.

pece — *iiij^{li} x^s*." It is not uninteresting to find Adam Byrom, a Manchester merchant, in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth involved in the question of the Liverpool Town Dues lately so hotly prosecuted in Parliament. He seems to have been obliged to succumb to the demand of the Liverpool Corporation. His calling considered, it is remarkable that he should have imported iron from "Spayne," and probably proves that he was not merely a "woollen clothier," but also a general merchant.

This extract is contained in a privately printed report of "The Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry into the existing State of the Corporation of Liverpool in November 1833," for which I am indebted to John Sudlow of Manchester Esq. Mrs. Byrom the widow married before 29th May 1575, James Holland of Salford, styled "clothier" and "gentleman;" as by will of that date William Birch, Rector of Stanhope in the county of Durham, and formerly Warden of Manchester, bequeaths to his aunt Becke, Nicholas and Thomas Becke, and to "Cicely Holland" his "cosings," *x^s* each for a token in gold. — *Eccles. Proceedings of Bishop Barnes*, vol. xxii. p. cxii. Surtees Soc.

ADAM BYROM, his only son and heir, died without issue in 1592. By a Deed Poll, dated 24th May 1627, "Elizabeth, sometymes heretofore late wife of Adam Byrom, late of Salford in the countie of Lancaster, gent. deceased," made a disposition in favour of "Francis Torkinton, clerke, her naturall brother, and unto her nephewe Francis Torkinton, sonne of the said Francis Torkinton, clerk."

17 Jan. 10 Charles I. "Francis Torkinton of Ringmore in the countie of Devon clarke," took a release of premises late the inheritance and in possession of Elizabeth Parkhurst, alias Byrom, late of Salford, widdowe, deceased.

By an Indenture dated 4th July 1660, to which Francis Torkinton of Rinmore, otherwise Ringmore, in the county of Devon gent. was a party, reference is made to a trust created by Elizabeth Parkhurst, otherwise Byrom, late of Salford, widow, deceased.

3. ANN BYROM, a minor in 1556. She died unmarried, and her Post Mort. Inq. was taken 11 Eliz. (1569), when the Jurors found that she died "*fatua et ideota et quod non habuit nec tenuit aliquam terram vel tenementum in Com. Lanc.*" — *Cal. Inq.* p. 49.

III. GEORGE BYROM OF SALFORD, merchant, son and heir of Adam Byrom of the same, merchant. He mentions in his will, dated 22nd July 1558, his brother Adam Byrom, and settles his estate on his sons Raufe and Thomas, bequeathing legacies to his three daughters, Isabel, Elizabeth, and Margaret. His wife is not named. Proved at Chester. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xiv. p. 130. At the Salford "Port Mot⁹" held 30th March 1559, the jury present "George Byrom to be dep'tyd sins the last Court day, and that the aforesayd Rauffe (see p. 21) is son and heyre unto the sayd George, and of

the age as ys aforesayd, and doth praye to be admytted to his relief." — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 389.

1. MARGARET BYROM, the third daughter of George Byrom, is chiefly memorable as the ill-fated victim of superstition and supposed witchcraft. It was in 1594 that seven persons, members of the family, or wards, of Nicholas Starkie of Huntroyd and Cleworth Esq. were pronounced to be the subjects of demoniacal possession. Amongst these "troubled" were Ellen Holland, one of Mr. Starkie's wards, and Margaret Byrom of Salford, a woman thirty-three years of age. The last named is said to be "a poor kinswoman of Mrs. Starkie's," and whilst on a visit at Cleworth, in the parish of Leigh, became giddy and partook of the general malady.

..... Margaret Byrom was grievously troubled; she thought in her fits something rolled in her belly like a calf and lay ever on her left side, and when it rose up towards her heart, she thought the head and nose thereof had been full of nails, wherewith being pricked, she was compelled to shriek aloud with very pain and fear; sometimes she barked and howled; and at others she so much quaked that her teeth chattered in her head. At the sight of Hartley, a reputed conjuror, she fell down speechless, and saw a great black dog, with a monstrous tail and a long chin, running at her, open-mouthed. Six times, within six weeks, the spirit would not suffer her to eat or drink, and afterwards her senses were taken away, and she was as stiff as iron. Two nights before the day of her examination against Hartley, who was committed to Lancaster Castle, the Devil appeared to her in his likeness and told her to speak the truth! Dr. Dee, the Warden of Manchester, was applied to, to exorcise the evil spirits, but he advised that godly preachers should be called in, and on the 6th March 1594 Mr. George More, pastor of Cawlke in Derbyshire, and Mr. John Darrell, afterwards preacher of St. Mary's in Nottingham, came to Cleworth, and with Mr. Dickens, a preacher (their pastor), and thirty other persons, spent the day with them in prayer and fasting and hearing the word of God. The result was that the demoniacs were dispossessed. Margaret Byrom said that she felt the spirit come up her throat, when it gave her a "sore lug" at the time of quitting her, and went out of the window with a flash of fire, she only seeing it. The whole imposture was afterwards detected and exposed; Hartley was executed, Mr. Darrell condemned as an impostor, deposed from the ministry, and imprisoned, whilst the estate of Cleworth was not secured by interested papists who were said to have originated the folly with that object in view, but continues in the family of Mr. Starkie of Huntroyd, whose ancestor obtained it by marriage with Ann, daughter and sole heiress of John Parr of Kempnough and Cleworth Esq. Bishop Hutchinson archly observes that in our modern possessions, such as the demoniac is such is the demon. (*Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, p. 245, 8vo, 1720.) It is not known what became of Margaret Byrom, who was probably a little older at the time than she is stated to have been in Darrell's Tract (published in 1600). — See Baines's *Hist. Lanc.* vol. i. p. 590.

IV. "RAUFE BYROM OF SALFORD in the co. of Lanc. Gent. son and heir of George Byrom deceased, who was son and heir of Adam Byrom deceased," (as by Inquisition 1 Eliz. 1558-9) and aged three years and upwards at its date of 1 Eliz. (say born in or about 1555), held, inter alia, 20 messuages, 20 gardens and 330 acres of land in Darcy Lever from Nicholas Mosley Esq. as of his manor of Manchester, by knight's service, and also messuages and lands in Salford, Manchester, Deveholme (Davyhulme), and Bolton le Moors. He died *August* 3, 40 Elizabeth, 1598, as by this Inquisition, but according to the Inquisition after his son's death, 10th *July* 40 Elizabeth. By this later Inquisition this Raufe Byrom the elder is said to have devised lands in trust to his wife Jane and another, for fifty years from her husband's death for the advancement of his younger children. Inq. post mort. taken at Wigan January 4, 41 Eliz. 1598-9. — *Duch. of Lanc. Office*, vol. xvii. No. 71. His will is dated June 28, 1598, as by inquisition and also by probate at Chester, wherein he describes himself as "of Salforde Gent." and desires "to be buried in the collegiate church of Manchester." He names his son and heir Ralph — his "now wife Jane" — his younger children Adam, Edmund, Homfraye, Mary, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Jane — his brother Thomas Byrom, and his cousin Alexander Radcliffe.

"By the custom of the manor of Darcy Lever, it was the practice to grant leases for successive lives, and on the determination of the last, to renew to the eldest son of the tenant for three lives, at a proportionate fine. After the death of Richard Crompton, the last surviving tenant under demise from the Byroms (before August 3rd 1598), James Crompton (a younger son) entered without demise, and connived at alienations to the Bradshawes, which were continued after Ralph Byrom's death, in the summer of 1598 (a date proved by two inquisitions), by his widow, as guardian to her son Adam Byrom. This was submitted to until April 29, 1602, when a writ under the Duchy seal was prayed against Jane Byrom, the widow, James Bradshaw, and Anne and Richard Crompton (the widow and son of James Crompton, the intruding younger brother), by John Crompton, son and heir of Richard above mentioned, who recovered possession." Pleadings, temp. Eliz. vol. clxii. c. 17, Crompton v. Crompton et alios. — Dr. Ormerod's *Parentalia*, p. 31, 8vo 1851 (not published). His being a minor at the Lancashire Visitation made by W. Flower, Norroy, in 1567, may account for his not appearing before the heralds and claiming his right to the coat armour which his father had used, and not because he

either undervalued his ancestral privilege, or slighted those subjects of which the King at Arms took cognizance. I will not for a moment suppose that (like a great modern Lancashire antiquary) he regarded Flower and Glover as the *lixæ et calones* of the antiquarian camp.

In 1595 Edmund Prestwich Esq. Richard Massey Esq. Raufe Byrom Gent. Thomas Byrom Gent. and four others, were appointed churchwardens of Manchester. — *Account Book in Coll. Ch.*

V. RAUFE BYROM OF SALFORD in the co. of Lanc. Gent., aged 20 years and six months January 4, 1598-9 (born about July 1578), held lands in the places mentioned in his father's Inq. and in Parva Leyver, otherwise Darcy Leyver, 12 mess., 12 gardens, 12 orchards, 162 acres (various), rent of 4½d., and a moiety of a water mill and fulling mill. He died May 29, 1599, s.p. Inq. post mort. taken at Leigh July 1, 42 Eliz. 1600. — *D. of Lanc. Office*, vol. xvii. No. 39.

VI. ADAM BYROM, described as son and heir in the Visitation of 1613, and then entered the Pedigree. Returned brother and heir in the Inq. post mort. of July 1, 1600, and as aged 14 years six months and sixteen days (born in December 1585), baptized at the Collegiate Church of Manchester January 1, 1585-6. He died at Chester the last day of January 1644, "being quarter-master to Knipe." *Harl. MS.* 2042, fo. 285, and *Visit. of* 1664.

Manchester Manor Court, 9 April, 5 Jac. (1607). Adam Byrom, son of Raufe Byrom of Salford Gent. deceased, is now of full age and admitted to the lands of his late brother Raufe Byrom Gent. deceased, as brother and next heir. — *Court Roll*.

VII. JOHN BYROM OF SALFORD Esq., "aged 44 years in 1664, Serjeant-Major in the regiment of Lancashire Militia, commanded by Colonel Roger Nowell on the part of King Charles." (*Dugdale's Visit.* 1664.)

In 1646 he compounded with the Commissioners of Sequestration for his estates for £201 16s. 6d., whilst his brother, Edmund Byrom of Salford, compounded for £2 6s. 8d., and his uncle Sir Thomas Prestwich Bart. and Thomas Prestwich Esq. his son were required to pay into the same treasury £330. — *Baines*, vol. ii. p. 281. Newcome mentions (*Autobiogr.* vol. i. p. 105) "some small contests upon occasion of burying the dead in Manchester. Major Byrom had his brother to be buried, and because I was

with Mr. Heyricke (the Warden) when they came to ask leave for the pulpit and he only cautioned them from speaking at the grave, they, in a pet, buried the body at Salford, and cast the odium of it upon me." Mr. Heywood (*Introd.* p. xx.) concludes that the Major himself desired to preach at the funeral of his brother, who was a clergyman, but the context scarcely bears out this view, and it seems merely to have been the loan of the pulpit that was solicited by the royalist officer, doubtless for an orthodox clerical preacher. At this time (1651) it was a *felonious* act to use the Burial Service in the Common Prayer Book, which had been abolished by parliament in 1644; and the DIRECTORY, which Heyrick and Newcome approved, forbade "praying, reading, and singing," and ordered "the dead body upon the day of burial to be immediately interred without any ceremony." — *A Directory for the Publique Worship of God in the three Kingdoms*, p. 35, 4to, 1645. Mr. Heywood (*Newcome's Diary*, p. 42, *Note*) says, the Cavalier John Byrom was Major of the Manchester Trainbands and the leader of the town's rejoicings at the Restoration. "We have smiled to observe the guileless divine (Newcome) persuading himself that his denunciations against drinking healths had been successful; for whilst he was speaking (1661) we knew Byrom and Mosley were at the Conduit on their knees, uttering vows over bumpers of claret (provided by Capt. Halliwell, afterwards the son-in-law of Edward Byrom the Presbyterian), for the success of the King and the downfall of the Rump." — *Heywood's Note*, p. 158, *Newcome's Diary*.

He is inaccurately described as Major John Byron in an account of the festivities at Manchester on April 22, 1661, on the eve of the coronation of Chas. II. — *Dr. Hibbert Ware's Found. of Manch.* vol. i. p. 350. The LETTER there cited was printed as a separate Tract. (*Inf. Geo. Ormerod Esq. D.C.L.*)

This gallant royalist officer, who had been through life consistent in the maintenance of his political and religious principles, was, after the Restoration, in the commission of the peace for the county of Lancaster. He was buried in the Derby Chapel within the Collegiate Church of Manchester, March 11th 1677-8, in the 59th year of his age, and not "in January 1689," as stated in *Newcome's Diary* p. 42, *Note*.

He married Mary, daughter and coheiress of William Radcliffe of Foxdenton Esq. — *Dugdale's Visit.* 1664. She was ultimately one of the two coheiresses (in blood and by deed of settlement) of Alexander Radcliffe of Foxdenton Esq. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxiv. p. 223. She levied a fine on Fox-

denton in 1653, and joined with her sister Susan, wife of Alexander Potter of Manchester Esq. M.P. (for Wigan), in settling the Foxdenton estates, by deed dated 25th April 1657, reciprocally on each other, and afterwards (she surviving Mrs. Potter) by will dated 11th May 1693, on her kinsman Alexander Radcliffe Esq. elder son of Captain Robert Radcliffe of Withenshaw deceased and his heirs male in tail. He was ancestor of Charles Radcliffe now of Foxdenton Esq.

Mrs. Byrom's will is dated Salford, 11th May 1693. She bequeathed legacies to the poor of Salford, Manchester, Chadderton, Oldham, and Crompton, and desired "that there might be a sermon at her funeral." She also bequeathed £50 to "John Radcliffe Esq. grandson of Sir Alexander Radcliffe, late of Ordsall, Knt.;" a similar legacy having been given to him by Mrs. Potter, whose will "Madam Byrom" proved at Chester 3rd May 1697. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxiv. pp. 226-7.

VIII. ADAM BYROM, aged nine years 1664. (*Visit.* 1664.) He was the only son and surviving child, and (along with his mother) executor of his father in 1677-8. His baptism is thus recorded in the Register of the Collegiate Church, Manchester: — "25 July (born) Adam, sonn to John Byrom of Salford Gent., baptised in his owne house 9th August next following, 1655." He was buried January 1683-4, in the Derby Chapel within the Collegiate Church, unmarried, and his heirs at law were found to be, on the 6th May 1684, his sole surviving sister Penelope, "widow and relict of Robert Hey Gent. deceased," and his cousins, "Margaret Aynsworth of London widow, and Elizabeth wife of John Jenkinson of Woodhouse Gent."

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NOTES TO THE PEDIGREE OF BYROM OF MANCHESTER.

I. HENRY BYROM OF SALFORD is named by his father Adam Byrom of Salford as his "second son," and was appointed an "executor" of his will, dated 3rd May 1556 (see Piccope's *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills*, p. 44). They both describe themselves as "merchants," and it is observable that the father and his two eldest sons, George and Henry, all died in July and August 1558.

At the Salford "Port Mot^o," held there on Thursday 30th March, 1 Elizabeth, "the Jury p'sent Henry Byrom to be dep'tyd syns the last Court day, and that Robert Byrom is son and heyre of y^e sayd Henry and of th'age of three yeares and upwards, and doth paye for hys relief as is accustomed, *y^e is to say, a dagger.*" — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 389.

In the 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, Henry Byrom and George Proudlove presented in the Duchy Court William Strangeways and Walter Pullen, for disturbing them (the plaintiffs) in the possession of a messuage and lands in Oldescroftes and Strangeways, and for the detention of the title deeds. (*Cal. Pleadings.*) The Proudloves, an ancient Manchester family, are styled "merchants" 20th March 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, and frequently occur afterwards (until 1666) amongst the Byrom Evidences as "gentlemen," although they did not appear at the Heralds' Visitations, and their precise relationship to the Byroms has not been ascertained. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxii. and vol. xxxvii.

On the 17th December 1556, Robert Beck of Manchester made his will, and after commending his soul to God, St. Mary, and all the company of heaven, and ordering his body to be buried in the parish church of Manchester, appointed his dearly beloved mother Ann Beck widow, and his trusty friend Thomas Birch of Birch, executors, and if they died, then he appointed his two brothers-in-law Richard Hunt and Henry Byrom executors, and he

gave the latter his best cloke, two bowes, and all his arrows, and to Mary Byrom his sister 13s. 4d. and to his sister Cicely Beck 13s. 4d. Henry Byrom was one of the witnesses of the will, along with William Radcliffe gent., James Barlow priest, and others. — *Lanc. MSS. Wills.*

"Henry Byrom of Salforde marchaunt," made his will 4th August 1558, and desired "to be buried in y^e p^rishe church of Manchester." He devised the messuage and house wherein he dwelt to his eldest son and heir apparent, Robert Byrom, and his heirs male, in default, remainder to Laurence Byrom his (testator's) second son and his heirs male, remainder, in default, to his own right heirs for ever; and bequeathed a legacy to Isabel his daughter. He appointed Mary his wife, Adam Byrom his brother, and his cousin Thomas Birch Gent. his executors, and his kinsman Rauffe Browne and his friend John Glover, overseers. Proved at Chester. — *Ibid.*

II. LAURENCE BYROM of Salford is erroneously called "a younger son of Adam Byrom of Salford," in Dugdale's Visitation 1664-5, and with him the pedigree of the Manchester branch of the family at that time commences. He was unquestionably the second son of Henry Byrom of Salford, and grandson of Adam Byrom, the enterprising and wealthy merchant. As he happened to be either an ill-used or a litigious man, his name frequently occurs, and his description of himself settles his place in the pedigree: — "Be yt known unto all men &c. that I Lawrence Byrom of Manchester seacond sonne of Henry Byrom late of Salforde clothier deceased the which Henry was seacond sonne of Adam Byrom the elder late of Salforde marchant deceased, have remysed &c. to James Holland of Salford clothier and Cycelie his wyffe administratrix of Adam Byrom marchant her late husband w^{ch} was the thirde sonne of the s^d Adam Byrom thelder and the admin^r of the goods of y^e s^d Adam Byrom thelder all mainer of accōns sutes legacies chilles partes &c. descended from the s^d Henrie Byrom my father or from the s^d Adam Byrom my grandfather or the said Adam Byrom my uncle late husband of the said Cycelie &c. Dated 1 Oct. 21 Eliz. [1578] in the presence of Robert Langley, John Radclyffe, Laurence Robinson, and Robert Lyghe." — *Inf. Rev. G. J. Piccope M.A.*

This release does not appear to have ended the contention, as irritated and irritating passions were again let loose, and on the 26th February 1579-80, "Laurence Byrom, administrator of the goods of Isabella Byrom deceased," entered his suit in the Consistory Court of Chester, "contra Jacobum Holland et Ceciliam ejus uxorem relictam Adami Byrom jun.

qui Adamus fuit execut⁹ sive adminōr Adami Byrom sen. &c. In cā. sub leg⁹."

And on the 28th April 1580, "Laurence Byrom of Manchester parish" went on with his suit against James Holland Gent. and Ceciley his wife, when it appeared in evidence that Henry Byrom of Salford defunct made his will in 1558, and, after disposing of his real estate, divided his personalty into three parts—the third part of which he bequeathed to "his poore chyl dren Robert, Lawrence, and Isabel"—that the said Isabel Byrom died before she was two years old, and before the proving of Henry Byrom's will, &c. The orphan children of Henry Byrom appear to have been brought up by their paternal uncle Adam Byrom during their minority, and at his death their affairs unfortunately remained unsettled, which led to this laborious and vexatious suit, commenced not by the elder but by the younger brother, against his uncle's relict, who was also his mother's sister, and had at this time formed a second matrimonial alliance.

His confidence in the integrity and affection of the Becks (a mercantile family, descended from wealthy ancestors, at this period of considerable local importance, and afterwards heraldic — *Lanc. Visit.* 1664) was not great, as, in addition to the above action against his aunt Holland (née Beck) on the 29th January 1578-9, he commenced a suit in the Consistory Court of Chester, against his uncle Nicholas Beck, one of the executors of his maternal grandmother Mrs. Ann Beck widow. The question at issue does not appear, but it arose out of the will of Ann, widow of Thomas Beck of Manchester merchant, dated June 17th 1578. Himself and his brother Robert were attesting witnesses but not legatees, which might be the ground of offence. The will was not proved until February 10th 1579-80, and after desiring "to be buried in Jesus Chapel (in Manchester Collegiate Church) near to her husband," Thomas Beck, merchant, who before 1556 had given a legacy of £20 "to sett poor men to worke in Manchester," she bequeathed her property to her grandson Thomas, son of Robert Beck of Manchester deceased, to her daughters Ceciley Holland, and to Ann wife of Humphrey Houghton, to John Houghton their son, and to Adam Byrom her daughter Ceciley's son, appointing Thomas Birch Gent. and her son Nicholas Beck executors. — *Lanc. MSS., Wills.*

Laurence Byrom, after an unsettled life and a too keen sense of his own infelicity, at least towards the close of his earthly struggles, found at last a haven of rest in the Collegiate Church, being buried there June 26th 1598. There was more than ordinary sorrow in his family on that day, and pro-

bably some ground for his son not appearing at the Heralds' Visitation in 1613, as well as for his own Christian name not being borne by any of his descendants.

III. EDWARD BYROM OF MANCHESTER, like Hartley of Strangeways and Wrigley of Salford (both high sheriffs of Lancashire) was an extensive merchant, and is sometimes styled, like them, a linen draper. In 1634 he was a subscriber towards the building of Holy Trinity Chapel, Salford. — Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Hist. Coll. Ch.* vol. i. p. 148. In 1638 he was one of the two manerial constables of Manchester, Edward Johnson Gent. being the boroughreeve. — *Corporation Records*. On the 26th July 1644, he, as "one of the Committee for the County Palatine of Lancaster," signed the public declaration of belief that Henry Wrigley, the late high constable of Salford, was not disaffected to "the King and Parliament," and minutely recounted his public services. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxvii. p. 386. In 1645 he appears as an officer in the parliament's army, and entered into the views of the Presbyterians — having learnt from Cromwell that there was no sword so sharp as the sword of England. Lieut. Colonel Rosworm records that his "sergeant, Mr. Beirom the elder," having discovered a villainous plot of certain individuals to seize and plunder the town [of Manchester], divulged it, and thus the chief conspirators were apprehended and the design frustrated. Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 233. Mr. Byrom did not, like many of his wealthy neighbours, violate his promise to this disappointed German military stipendiary, for he made none; but he would hardly approve of Rosworm's sweeping observation — "I could have sold them all, man, woman and child, into the enemy's hands; but alas! I should then have been a Manchester man, for never let an unthankful man and a promise-breaker have another name!" — *Ibid.* p. 231.

He witnessed the return of Major General Worsley of Platt Hall near Manchester (probably a family connexion) to Cromwell's second parliament in 1654, and that return was a Presbyterian triumph, and hostile to the Protector, whose views were Congregational. — Newcome's *Diary*, p. 34, *Note*; Baines, vol. ii. p. 283.

His will is dated at Manchester 27th February 1654-5, he being then "sick and infirm of body." His last request was, that his body should be buried within the parish church of Manchester, near to his late wife, in such decent sort and after such comely manner as should seem best to his executors and overseers. His freeholds are devised to his son William, his

personalty bequeathed to his son Edward, and legacies are given to his daughter Ann Byrom, to his grandson Thomas Clark, to his daughter Elizabeth Marsh and her children William and Elizabeth, to his daughter Sarah Worthington, to his brother-in-law John Worsley, to his sister Byrom at Warrington, to his servant Mary Thorpe, to poor householders in Manchester (40s.) to be distributed at the discretion of his sole executor, his loving son, Edward Byrom; and he appointed his loving son William Byrom, his loving friend Mr. Philip Stampe, and his loving son-in-law Mr. Francis Worthington, overseers, and he gave each of them 20s. The will was proved in London "in the court for the probate of wills," by the executor, 3rd September 1655.

1. JOHN BYROM, the second son of Mr. Edward Byrom, was a young and adventurous lieutenant in the parliamentary army, and fighting with more than "Spartan fortitude, with more than Roman discipline," was accidentally killed. The event is recorded in Lancashire's *Valley of Achor*, p. 123:—1642, October, "The two and twentieth day, store of powder came in [to Manchester] and the four and twentieth day some [more powder] coming was stayed. The joy of this last supply was sadly tempered with the accidentall, but mortall, wound of a skilful and active souldier." The name is given in Dr. Hibbert Ware's *Hist. Coll. Ch.* vol. i. p. 215—"Mr. Edward Byrom's son,"—who probably lingered some days after his accident before he died, as he was buried in the Collegiate Church on the 31st October 1642, in his 22nd year.

2. Sir Peter Leycester records that Peter fourth son of George Holford waited on James Earl of Derby (I suppose the martyr Earl) and married Frances, daughter of William Woolley of Warrington, mercer, and widow of one Pickford of London, haberdasher.—*Hist. Chesh.* One of the local tokens current at Warrington in the seventeenth century bore this inscription:—

Obverse—Elizabeth Woolley

Reverse—her half-peny

1667.

IV. WILLIAM BYROM took an active part, during the seventeenth century, in promoting the cause of the parliament, and, becoming a Presbyterian, was appointed an Elder in the Manchester Classis, although Mr. Thomas Heywood is of opinion that he was always a moderate Episcopalian. (Introd. *Newcome's Diary*, p. xix.) On the 12th August 1656, he was one of the burgesses and chief inhabitants of Manchester who elected Richard Radcliffe of Pool Fold Esq. as Burgess of that town to represent them in the Commonwealth parliament.—Baines, vol. ii. p. 204. In 1657 William Byrom Gent. was boroughreeve of Manchester.—*Corporation Records.* He

was the friend and patron of Newcome, and materially assisted in obtaining his clerical services for Manchester. (*Autobiog.* vol. ii. pp. 337, 353, 373.) He was also Newcome's landlord in 1660 (*Ibid.* vol. i. p. 117), and that worthy divine recorded: "Dec. 24, 1666. This day we buried a good friend of mine, Mr. William Byrom" (*Ibid.* p. 155), who left his old pastor a legacy as a proof of his regard for him. The will of "William Byrom of Manchester Gent." is dated 30th November 1665, and the testator requests that his body may be "decently interred within the town's chappel commonly called Pendleton chappel," in the Collegiate Church. He entails considerable property upon his eldest son William Byrom and his issue; in default then to descend to Josiah Byrom his second son and the heirs of his body; in default to descend to his third son John Byrom and the heirs of his body; in default to the next and right heirs of the testator for ever. The said lands are charged with £6 a year "to one Margaret Hunt spinster during her natural life," being a charge created by his late father Edward Byrom. He provides for his daughter Sarah wife of John Scholfield and for his sons Josiah and John Byrom when they attain the age of 21. He gives his sister Elizabeth Woolley £10, and to his brother-in-law Henry Welch, clerk [Incumbent of Chorley], Mr. Francis Worthington, his sister Anne, wife of James Halliwell, and his sister-in-law Margaret Bowker widow, 20s. apiece for mourning rings to wear in remembrance of him. To Anne wife of his brother Edward Byrom 15s. for a ring. To Arthur Scholfield his grandchild 40s. To William and Rebecca Bowker his sister Margaret's son and daughter 15s. "To Mr. William Hawood £3 6s. 0d. which he oweth unto me, and which I give him for going with me to Holmes Chappel and for drawing this my will." "To Mr. Heyricke to preach my funeral sermon 20s.; yet if he be indisposed thereunto, notwithstanding I give him the 20s. and desire that Mr. Moseley would preach at my funeral; and nevertheless if Mr. Heyricke do preach my funeral sermon yet I give Mr. Moseley 20s. To Henry Newcome and Edward Richardson, clerks, 20s. apiece. To the poor of Manchester £3, to be distributed at the discretion of my executors." "I desire my executors to take care of the education of my sons Josiah and John in the way of learning according to the promptness of my said sons." "And whereas my servant Edward Leacroft hath been an obstinate and disobedient servant and by his several miscarriages and misdemeanors forfeited his bond of apprenticeship yet I have hitherto taken not that advantage which the law doth allow me but on the contrary have made use of all loving ways to reclaim him and to do good to him, my mind

is that my executors shall have the same power and advantage upon the forfeiture of the same bond that I now might have, and I leave them to deal with him as they in their discretion shall think fit." Executors — "my son William and brother Edward Byrom, and to my said brother I give a mourning suite and cloake, and I appoint my brother Mr. Francis Worthington overseer." Proved at Chester, 27th June 1667, by the son.

His wife was Rebecca, daughter of Captain John Beswicke, of Manchester, descended from Galfrid de Bexwick, who (with his wife, a daughter of Thurstan de Holland of Denton) was living 35 Edward III. and whose descendant in the sixteenth century was Roger Beswicke of Manchester, nephew of Robert Beswicke of Manchester chapman (17 and 20 Henry VII.) by his wife Joan, daughter of — Oldham of Crumpsall, and sister of Hugh Oldham D.D. Bishop of Exeter. Roger Beswicke married Margaret, daughter of — Bradford of Manchester and sister of John Bradford D.D. the Martyr. (*Lanc. MSS. Ped. of Beswicke.*)

1. JOHN BYROM of Manchester Gent. youngest son of William Byrom Gent. was ultimately heir of his two brothers William and Josiah. He married, first, Mary, daughter and coheiress of William Page of Manchester Gent. (he was buried at the Collegiate Church November 27th 1668) and of his wife Ellen, daughter of Mr. Letherbarrow, who afterwards married, at the Collegiate Church, 30th November 1674, for her second husband, Edmond Shuttleworth Esq. Mr. Page, who at one time was a large clothier, and also a linen and woollen draper, had issue an only son, (probably "Charles, son of Mr. William Page, born at Warrington 2nd instant and baptised at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, 31 July, 1659," — *Reg. Book*), "very weak and sickly," (August 9th 1663,) and who died young, and five or six daughters. Of these (1) Mary was the first wife of John Byrom Gent. and buried June 21st 1683. — *M. I.* (2) Anne, baptised at the Collegiate Church 21st October 1660, married at Blackley, September 14th 1682, the Rev. John Hinde M.A., afterwards Fellow of the Collegiate Church. She was the pious founder of "Mrs. Hinde's Charity." (3) Alice married at the Collegiate Church, December 11th 1673, John Lightbowne of Moston Esq. a lawyer. (4) Jane married at the Collegiate Church, November 23rd 1682, Robert Gartside of Prestwich Gent. (5) Katharine, baptised September 27th 1663, married at the Collegiate Church, February 6th 1682-3, first, Mr. James Diggle of Manchester, an ironmonger, and secondly, Mr. Edward Scott of the same place, grocer. Mrs. Diggle was the mother of Ellen, wife of the Rev. John Copley M.A. Fellow of the Collegiate Church, an early friend of Dr. Byrom, and ancestor of the Marquess of Westminster, the Earl of Wilton and of the Lord Suffield. Ellen, or Eleanor Diggle is the "Mrs. Diggles" glowingly described in Heywood's "Celebrated Beauties of Manchester," written in 1709, and published 12mo. 1726. Mrs. Shuttleworth procured, apparently not without difficulty, a settlement of the estate of

her son-in-law John Byrom Gent. on the 4th March 1686-7, and her brother Robert Letherbarrow of Wigan Gent. and Edward Byrom of Hyde's Cross in Manchester Gent. were the trustees appointed for the benefit of the two minors William and Mary Byrom; and by her will, dated 20th April 1695, proved at Chester 1696, she further provided for these grandchildren, and for her grand-daughter Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. John Werden, bequeathing a legacy of £50 to be invested for the poor of Manchester, the interest to be expended annually in linen, and a small legacy to Edmund, son and heir of her late husband Edmond Shuttleworth Esq. who was probably a barrister, and of the Bedford and Astley branch of that family. It appears from the will of this gentleman (dated April 17th 1683 and proved at York) that his lands were situate in the county of Lincoln, &c., and were entailed upon his son Edmund when 21, charged with £100 to the daughters of Henry Wrigley (of Chamber?) Esq. He also gave gold rings to Sir John Gell, to Henry Wrigley, and to his wife's daughters and their husbands. Mr. John Byrom married secondly, at the Collegiate Church, April 2nd 1687, Margaret, daughter of Mr. — Delves of Manchester, and sister of Robert Delves of the same place Gent. (his wife was Ellin, daughter of Joseph Werden of Manchester Gent.) whose daughter and ultimately coheiress Margaret Delves was the first wife of Robert, son and heir of Charles Beswicke of Manchester Gent. and was buried in the choir of the Collegiate Church 17th October 1715. — *M. I. Lanc. MSS.* vol. iv. pp. 97, 118. Mrs. Byrom survived her marriage little more than a year, and was buried in the Collegiate Church July 6th 1688, and her husband on the 16th January next following.

V. EDWARD BYROM of Kersall Cell, youngest son of Edward Byrom of Salford, was the grandfather of Dr. Byrom. He was born in 1627, and seems to have inherited, though somewhat modified, the liberal and latitudinarian views of his father, and elder brothers John and William. He was a man of known moderation, which he evinced by adding his name to the invitation of Henry Newcome to Manchester (*Diary*, Introd. p. xix. and *Autobiog.* vol. ii. pp. 337 and 354) and also by accompanying his brother William and Mr. Worthington to Gawsworth, as a deputation to Newcome from "the Church of Manchester" (*Autobiog.* vol. i. p. 66).¹ According to a family memorandum Mr. Edward Byrom was married in the chapel of Smithills in the parish of Dean. The following record is from the register of that parish church: "1654 Nov. 13, Edwardus Byrome filius Edwardi Byrome

¹ It was of this "Church of Manchester" that his grandson wrote — "Their sectarian heterodoxy proves them determined enemies to an Ecclesiastical establishment, and their State principles are manifestly the same with those which once ruined our Constitution, and brought the best of kings to the block; and I question not, but the world will be very apt to dispute the sincerity of a charge of rebellion against us by men, who are, at the same time, defending the very worst instance of it, that Grand Presbyterian one of 1641." — *Manchester Vindicated*, Preface, p. viii. 12mo, 1749.

p'och. de Manchester et Anna Crompton filia Johannis Crompton nup. de Bolton, de Halliwell paroch. de Dean."—*Ex. Inf. Geo. Ormerod Esq.* In 1663 Edward Byrom Gent. was one of the two manerial constables, and John Lightbowne Esq. the boroughreeve of Manchester (*Corporation Records*). His will was made on the 14th June 1668, when he was "sick and weak of body," and only a day or two before he died, as appears by the register of his burial [June 18th; *dele* "Dec." in the line pedigree annexed] so inaccurate is the inscription (re-cut in modern times) on his gravestone, which states that he was "buried on December 18, 1688, aged 67 years." He devised all his real estate to his wife Ann, until his (eldest) son Edward attained the age of 21, for the support of his children; he then devised lands in Manchester, Bolton le Moors, &c., to his sons Edward, Joseph, and William, with benefit of survivorship. He gave out of his personalty to his wife £300, to his son William £200, to his daughter Ellen £200, to his two sisters each 20s., to Maister Warden (of the Collegiate Church) and his wife 20s., to Maister Stampe and his wife 20s., to Thomas Byrom 10s., to Elizabeth Marsh 20s., "to my son Edward my sealinge gould ringe," to his cozen Ellen Tyldisley 10s., to his two servants and apprentices Roger and John 10s. each, and he assigned them over to his wife and executors to be disposed of by them. Executors—his brother-in-law Joseph Crompton, Nicodemus Monks, and Ann his (testator's) wife; to the two first he gave £5 each, and he made his brother Worthington and his cozen Thomas Booker overseers. Proved by the executors at Chester, 10th August 1668. The witnesses to the will were Henry Newcome, Francis Worthington, and Roger Makin. The last named, Roger Mekin Gent. married the testator's widow, by whom he had issue two daughters his coheiresses. His will is dated 5th December 1684, being then "sick in body." He gives legacies to his "well beloved sons-in-law" (step-sons) Mr. Edward, Joseph, and William Byrom; also to his brothers-in-law Mr. Edward Syddall, Mr. John Watson, and Mr. Horsley. He gives his personal estate to his wife and two daughters, and devises his lands, &c., in Manchester and Broughton to his two daughters Anne and Elizabeth Mekin and their heirs; but provided they die under age and unmarried, he then devises the half "between the sons of his dear wife who shall then be living and their heirs," and the other half to his own next of kin. Executors—his wife Ann and his son Mr. Edward Byrom, and he desires his brother-in-law Mr. Edward Syddall to be overseer. Proved at Chester 15th January 1684-5, by the executors.

I saw in 1849, in a farm-house near Heywood, a half-length portrait inscribed, "Old Mrs. Meakin, grandmother of the late Mr. Clowes of Smedley," and also grandmother of Dr. Byrom, which represents the lady here named, who was left a second time a widow. She possesses an acute and intelligent countenance, piercing grey eyes, and pleasing features, the portrait being painted apparently about the age of 55. She wears a high-crowned black beaver hat, a dark figured silk dress, and holds a book in her hand. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xi. p. 179.

James Comberbach of Nantwich in Cheshire, by will dated 5th October 1696, and proved at Chester 31st October the same year, mentions therein his "cozens Mary Clowes and Mr. Matthew Meakin." His wife is described (*Harl. MS.* 2153) as Jane, daughter of Randle Shenton, and their eldest son, Roger Comberbach Esq. the Recorder of Chester and one of the Justices of North Wales, had lands settled on him by his father to the amount of £100 per annum, according to a recital in the will, and the testator also made devises to his two younger sons. James Comberbach was a rich tanner, but his precise connection with the Byroms and Clowes' has not been discovered. — *Inf. J. Fred. Beever, Esq.* Dr. Byrom's poetical and humorous controversy with his grandson or son Roger Comberbach, on the respective merits of rhyme and blank verse, is amongst the most interesting of his miscellaneous writings, and any new collection of his works would be incomplete without this scarce and admirable poem being included, a copy of which is in the library of the President of the Chetham Society. — See Byrom's *Remains*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 553, *Note 2.*

VI. EDWARD BYROM.

VII. Joseph Byrom, the second son of Edward Byrom of Kersall Cell, was born about 1660. He was engaged extensively in trade, and is styled in 1703 "Joseph Byrom Esq." being in that year the boroughreeve of Manchester, (*Corporation Records.*) He was negotiating for several years with Samuel Byrom Esq. a spendthrift and a fashionable rake, for the purchase of the manor, demesne, and hall of Byrom in the parish of Winwick, the ancient seat of their common ancestors, and several impediments, real or imaginary, being removed, on the 5th July 1710 he became seized of property which, from family traditions and associations was clearly more valuable in his estimation than in that of his unhappy kinsman the vendor,

" ——— Himself the solitary scion left
Of a time-honoured race."

He also bought in 1722, for £4688 (sold before 1800 for £21,000), the manor, hall, and demesne of Smithills, together with a domestic chapel appurtenant to the same,

of Thomas Eyre, merchant, who had the year before purchased the same of Thomas, Lord Viscount Falconberg. Mr. Byrom also bought lands in Pennington, Leigh, &c.

In 1732 and 1733 he was engaged with his son, and probably with other parties, in building the church or chapel of Lowton in the parish of Winwick, and died shortly after its consecration. On Thursday the 18th October 1733, being the feast of St. Luke, the Church was consecrated to the honour of God and the celebration of Divine offices, by the name of the Church of St. Luke the Evangelist; and Bishop Peploe reserved and granted to the Rev. Francis Annesley LL.D. Rector of Winwick, to Joseph Byrom of Manchester Gent. the owner and proprietor of the capital mansion house called Byrom Hall in the township of Lowton, and to Edward Byrom Esq. son and heir apparent of the said Joseph, power to dispose of the pews in the said church to the inhabitants of Lowton, Kenyon and Golborne. See *Not. Cest.* vol. ii. part ii. p. 262, *Note*. Nor was this the only instance of his liberality towards the Church, as in 1723 he assisted in obtaining a permanent endowment for the poor chapel of Ainsworth in Middleton parish. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxi. p. 362.

Mr. Joseph Byrom died December 24th 1733, aged 73, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Miles Bradshaw of Manchester, descended from a younger branch of the Darcy Lever family. The pedigree of Bradshaw of Darcy Lever Hall, entered in the College of Arms in 1824, is deduced from the Visitation of Lancashire of 1664, which does not give any collateral descents, being simply a lineal pedigree, nor does the pedigree of 1824, compiled by Sir Charles G. Young, Garter, record any collateral descendants. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxi. p. 502.

VI. EDWARD BYROM. It is not unworthy of notice that the two brothers, Edward Byrom of Kersall Cell and Joseph Byrom of Manchester, were the purchasers of portions of the respective properties of Byrom of Byrom and Byrom of Salford, as the heads of each house passed away and the name became extinct. On the 29th July 1703, Edward Byrom Gent. became the owner, by purchase, of lands in Salford belonging to "John Aynsworth of the city of Westminster, linen-draper, and Susannah his wife," and to "Nathaniel Jenkinson of Lime Ditch, in Failsworth, in the parish of Manchester, chapman, and Sarah his wife," formerly the inheritance of Adam Byrom of Salford Esq., and in 1710 Byrom Hall was bought by Joseph Byrom. In the *Literary Remains* of Dr. Byrom (printed by the Chetham Society) there are many notices of his mother's family, who had been seated at Redivales in Bury for two or three generations, but who did not answer Dugdale's summons to attend his Visitation in 1664-5. — *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. i. p. 6. Captain John Allen, the maternal grandfather of Dr. Byrom, was a retainer of the martyr Earl of Derby, a zealous royalist, and consequently, like his wife's relatives, a sufferer during

the civil war of the 17th century. Of his children (1) Ann was baptised at Bury September 2nd 1654, and ob. inf.; (2) Isaac baptised June 15th, 1655; (2) Ann, baptised Feb. 3rd 1657-8, and married Mr. William Andrew, citizen of London, the father (by a second wife) of John Andrew Esq. LL.D. Fellow of Trinity Hall Cambridge, and Chancellor of the Diocese of London, who ob. in 1747 (see Byrom's *Remains*, vol. i. part ii. p. 625, *Note* 3); (4) Dorothy, married Mr. Edward Byrom; (5) Richard; (6) Elizabeth, baptised April 11th 1665, married February 3rd 1688, Mr. Laurence Sleight of Manchester; (7) John, baptised June 6th 1667; (8) Phœbe, baptised August 24th 1668, ob. unmarried July 1723; (9) Morris, baptised November 2nd 1669; (10) Jane, married Mr. Chaddock of Chaddock in the county of Lancaster, and of St. Paul's Church-yard, London, who died in May 1742. RICHARD ALLEN Gent. the fifth child, was born November 24th 1663, and married Sarah, daughter of — (a kinswoman of Henry Wrigley of Langley Hall in Middleton Esq.) He died December 27th 1699. His Will was proved at Chester May 9th 1702. He had issue (1) RICHARD ALLEN Gent. who ob. s.p.; (2) Dorothy, married at Bury, July 30th 1708, the Rev. Robert Bellas M.A. incumbent of Ince; (3) — married Mr. Valentine, and had a son, the Rev. Thomas Valentine M.A. of Frankfort near Killaloe in Ireland, living in 1748; (4) Ann, baptised December 27th 1698, married Mr. Joseph Vigor, a Quaker; (5) Elizabeth, married Mr. William Dawson of Manchester, and was mother of Captain James Dawson, the hero of Shenstone's celebrated Ballad. — *Lanc. MSS.* vol. xxxi. p. 84. The Allens of Broughton, descendants of the Rev. Isaac Allen B.D. Rector of Prestwich, recorded a short pedigree in 1664-5. — *Ib.* vol. xii.

1. THOMAS BREARCLIFFE here named was the son of Mr. John Brearcliffe, the distinguished Halifax antiquary, whose *MS. Collections*, containing abundant and valuable materials for a new history of that great parish, are, as I am informed by the President of the Chetham Society, in the possession of the trustees of Waterhouse's Charity. Mr. John Brearcliffe was an apothecary in Halifax, where he was born, and where he died of a fever December 4th 1682, aged 63. His wife, Dorothy, survived him, and died on the 1st of December 1687, as appears from their gravestone still remaining in the parish church near the font. Thoresby styles him "an industrious and (which is infinitely better) religious antiquary." — *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 68. Watson (*Hist. Halifax*, p. 454) gives a brief account of some of his antiquarian collections.

2. SARAH BREARCLIFFE of Manchester spinster, by will dated 1st December, 1792, bequeathed £3,000 (not £300 as stated by Dr. Hibbert Ware, vol. ii. p. 169) to Eleanora Byrom, Henry Atherton of Lincoln's Inn Esq. and William Fox of Manchester Gent. in trust, the income to be applied to the main-

tenance or relief of fifteen old housekeepers of good character, inhabitants of Manchester or Salford for seven successive years, who did not severally possess an income of 40s. a year, the oldest persons always to be preferred. On the death of the above-named trustees, she appointed the two chaplains of the Collegiate Church, and the rector, if the officiating minister, if not, the senior curate of St. Ann's, Manchester, and the incumbent, if the officiating minister, if not, the curate of Trinity Chapel, Salford, to nominate the objects of her charity, and to manage the trust. Proved at Chester in 1803.—See 16 *Rep. Char. Com.* p. 157, 1826.

VIII. EDWARD BYROM Esq., a son worthy of the father whom it was his happiness and privilege to have had, was buried in his family chapel with this inscription on his monumental stone:—“Edward Byrom founder of St. John's Church, son of John and Elizabeth Byrom of Kersall, born 13 June 1724, died 21st April 1773.”

“Eleanora wife of Edward Byrom died 18th May 1758 æt. 31.”

Their marriage was announced according to the fashion of the day as follows:—

“A few days ago Mr. Edward Byrom, son of Dr. Byrom of Manchester, was married to Miss Halstead of Lymm co. Cest. a lady of great merit and a handsome fortune.”—Adams's *Chester Courant*, March 6, 1750.



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(I.)
 Henry de Byron, A.
 in the parish of W.
 next after the feast
 of Michaelmas, 1171.

(II.)
 Thomas de Byron,
 20 Edw. III. 1328.

(III.)
 Simon de Byron,
 1 Hen. V. 1413.

(IV.)
 Thomas de Byron,
 1 Hen. VI. 1422.

(V.)
 Henry de Byron,
 1 Hen. VI. 1422.

(VI.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(VII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(VIII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

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(VI.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(VII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
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(VIII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
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(IX.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
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(X.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(XI.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(XII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(XIII.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

(XIV.)
 John Byron of Byron Hall,
 his occurs; 3 Feb. 22 Hen.
 VI. 1422.

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HERTON, WILLS,

Raufe Byrom,
liv. 26 Jan.
1523-4.
(Visit. 1613.)

Thomas Byrom,
liv. 26 Jan.
1523-4.
(Visit. 1613.)

Margaret Byrom

Anne Byrom

Anna Byrom-John Rolton
of Salford,
chapman 25
1544.

Allice Byrom,
of Barlow Hall,
spunster 25 1544.

Humphrey Barlow
Gent., mar. at So-
den 9 Nov. 1544.

1544-1545, Ann. of
the Byroms.
1544-1545.

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the Byroms.
1544-1545.

1544-1545, Ann. of
the Byroms.
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1544-1545, Ann. of
the Byroms.
1544-1545.

1544-1545, Ann. of
the Byroms.
1544-1545.

Byrom of Ballord.



THE DESCENT OF THE BYROMS FROM THE VISITATIONS OF LANCASTER

THE BYROMS OF BALLORD, MERCHANTS, IN THE 17TH CENTURY

III. George Byrom of Ballord, merchant, =
 son and heir app. An exor of his fa-
 ther's will. His own will is dat 22
 July 1622. He died soon after his fa-
 ther, and before the Post mortem.
 was taken, as by top. aforesaid of 1
 Eliz. (Visit 1612)

III. Henry Byrom of Ballord, merchant, =
 son and heir app. An exor of his fa-
 ther's will. His own will is dat 22
 July 1622. He died soon after his fa-
 ther, and before the Post mortem.
 was taken, as by top. aforesaid of 1
 Eliz. (Visit 1612)

Adam Byrom, son and h
 A justice in the will of
 grandmother, Anne B
 widow, Jan 17, 1578. Her
 his estate by deed dat 21
 at Eliz. 1581. His will
 Oct. 21, 1585, pr at Chanc
 her in the Coll. Ch. 21
 Chester Nov. 12, 1581, a p

IV. Isaac Byrom of Ballord, merchant, =
 son and heir, dat 1 Eliz.
 1562. Admitted by the Maner
 Court of Ballord to his fa-
 ther's lands, viz. 1000. His
 at law, by reason of a writ
 Gent. 21 Oct. 1581. His will dat 22
 Jan 1582. Bur in the Coll. Ch.
 Manchester July 1582, viz. 22

Adam Byrom of Ballord, merchant, =
 son and heir, dat 1 Eliz.
 1562. Admitted by the Maner
 Court of Ballord to his fa-
 ther's lands, viz. 1000. His
 at law, by reason of a writ
 Gent. 21 Oct. 1581. His will dat 22
 Jan 1582. Bur in the Coll. Ch.
 Manchester July 1582, viz. 22

John Byrom of Ballord, merchant, =
 son and heir, dat 1 Eliz.
 1562. Admitted by the Maner
 Court of Ballord to his fa-
 ther's lands, viz. 1000. His
 at law, by reason of a writ
 Gent. 21 Oct. 1581. His will dat 22
 Jan 1582. Bur in the Coll. Ch.
 Manchester July 1582, viz. 22

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and; of 25
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Byrom, John

The private journal and literary remains of John Byrom

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